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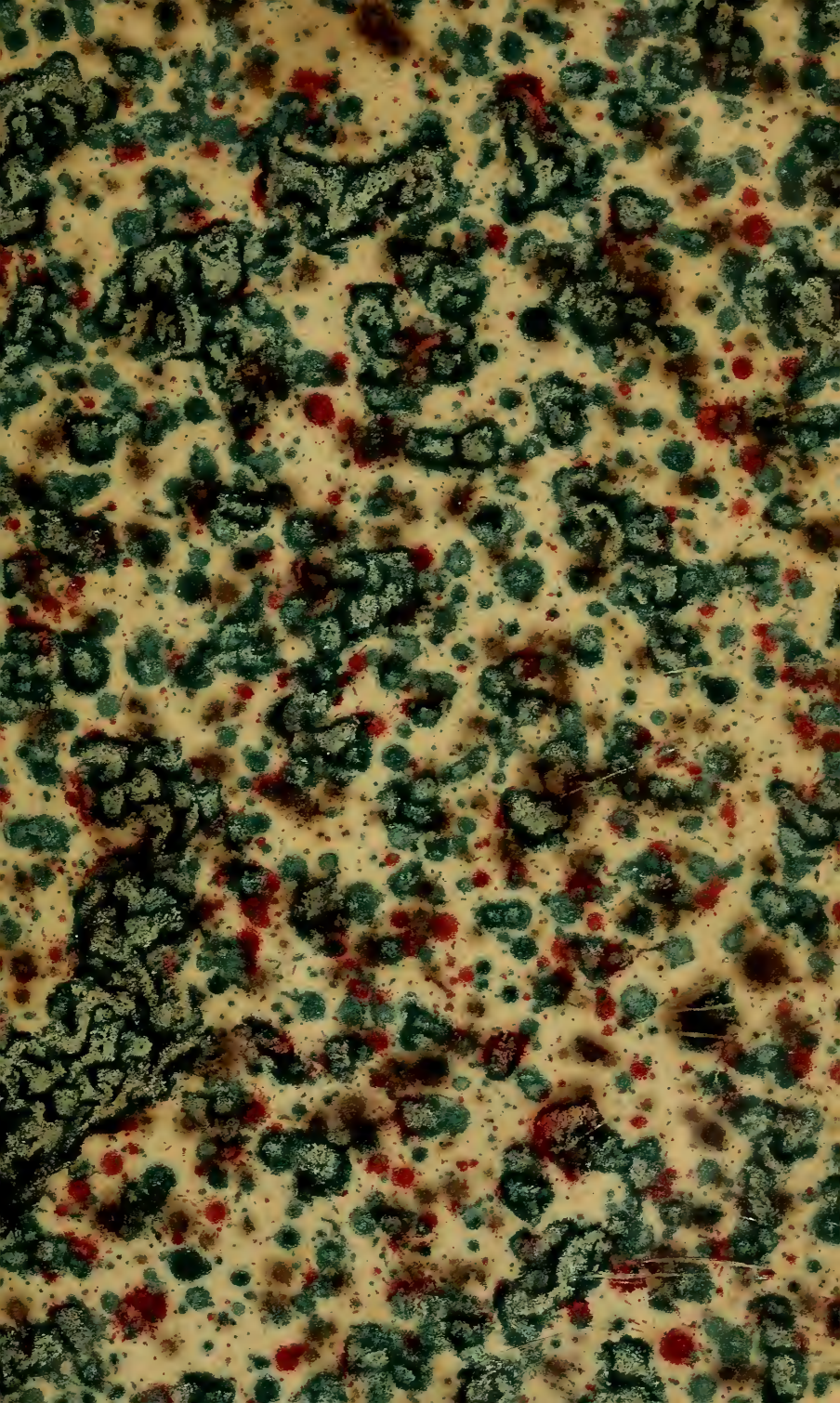


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J. R. Chadwick, M. D.



Francis M. Forbes.
Geneva. 11th February. 1863



Comte Du Lude's
TREATISE
OF
SPIRITS, &c.

George Du Laque's

TREATISE

OF

SPIRITS

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ:
OR, A
TREATISE
OF
SPIRITS.

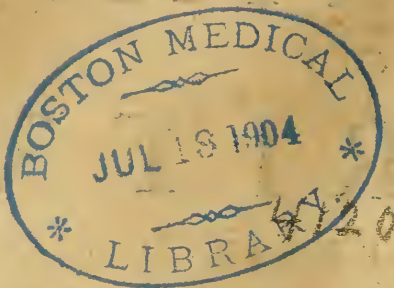
WHEREIN
Several Places of Scrip-
ture are Expounded, against the
Vulgar ERRORS concerning
WITCHCRAFT, APPA-
RITIONS, &c.

To which is added,
An APPENDIX, containing some
REFLECTIONS ON Mr. *Boulton's* Answer to
Dr. *Hutchinson's* Historical Essay; entitled
*The Possibility and Reality of Magick, Sorcery
and Witchcraft demonstrated.*

By Comte DU LUDE,
A Presbyter of the Church of *England.*

L O N D O N :
Printed for the AUTHOR, in the Year 1723.

88 N 61





THE
PREFACE.



THE Holy Ghost tells us, *Acts xi. 47. That the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved: A* Place of Holy Scripture sufficient to ground that Article, whereby we constantly profess to believe *The Holy Catholick Church; or, as it is in the Nicene Creed, One Catholick and Apostolick Church.* For this Text clearly teaches us these Three Things,

[a]

1. That

iv The PREFACE.

1. That there is a Church.
2. That this Church is but One, that there is not Another. And,
3. That we must be of *that* Church to be fav'd.

The Difficulty is, What this Church is? A Difficulty found out by the Genius of evil Men, who being not contented with what is reveal'd in GOD's own Book, have sought out many Inventions, and written Cart-loads of Books, more capable of distracting Thousands, than of directing One Man in the Right Way to Heaven.

As for my Part, I think to see plainly (and without much to do) *this Church*, in God's Holy and Infallible *Word*, that *Word*, to *which*, *whosoever addeth any thing*, and from *which*, *whosoever taketh any thing*,
is

The PREFACE. V

is cursed. For believing stedfastly that *Jesus Christ*, and *Jesus Christ Alone*, is *the Way, the Truth, and the Life*: I see there a Society of Men professing to Believe in Him, having Communion together in the Use and Participation of all and every one of the Ordinances which Himself hath Instituted to that Purpose: And these Ordinances, according to the Letter of their Institution, are administered by Hands rightly Ordained thereunto; *For no Man taketh upon him this Office, but he that is Called, as Aaron was.* So that *this Church* is One, because the Members thereof have One and the same *Faith* in the Holy Jesus, and their Communion is in the *Partaking of the same Ordinances*, which are all of his Institution, and of no Body else. This is the One Holy Catholick and Apostolick

[a 2] Church,

vi The PREFACE.

Church, which hath its Orthodox Ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons untainted with Schism, Heresy, or Apostacy; who minister duly the undefiled Service of the Church without Superstition, or Idolizing any Creature, whether Dead Men, or Men Alive, or any other Material or Image; for our GOD is a Spirit, that will be Worshipped in Spirit and in Truth.

Wherefore, that GOD may be rightly Served and truly Glorified upon Earth by this holy Congregation, let him be the sole Object of all Religious Worship. Read carefully upon this, the 7th Chapter of this Book, of the *First Commandment of the Law*. Secondly, Let all Christians purify themselves for the pure Worship of that GOD, whose Eyes are so pure, that he cannot behold Iniquity. And

The PREFACE. vii

And above all Things, Let us be well satisfied, that the GOD with whom we have to do, is not only the Eternal GOD, without Beginning or End; not only the Almighty GOD, who doth whatsoever pleases him, and hath made all Things; not only the infinitely wise GOD, who ordereth all things rightly and justly, and hath created nothing with a Capacity to oppose his Will. But let us also consider well, and never forget, that our GOD is *Ens per se Existens*, a Spirit who hath his Being from Himself, and is All-sufficient to Himself; who as he hath created All Things of Nothing, so he can reduce them to Nothing when he will, and his Hand can never be shortned; he can create Thousands of Worlds, and govern them without Help, or even the Concurrence
of

viii The PREFACE.

of any Creature, least of all of Satan, or of those devilish Spirits, supposed to be so busy about the Affairs of this World, and such powerful Instruments in GOD's Hands to vex and punish Men; whereas we cannot but know and acknowledge that our Sins are Provocations enough, and our selves sufficient Instruments for all the Judgments he thinks fit to inflict upon us.

Another Thing is absolutely necessary, That our GOD may have his Due, and be truly glorified by us, tho' his unworthy Servants, and that is, that we hold fast and persevere in the Profession of our holy Christian Faith, and be well fortified against all *Arian* and *Socinian* Heresies, that we may own and publish that the first Foundation of this
Christian

The PREFACE. ix

Christian Religion is, *that Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God is the Only Mediator and Redeemer promised by the Prophets*; which is not prov'd by a stronger Argument, than that which is formed from the Message sent by St. *John* the Baptist to our Saviour by two of his Disciples, and CHRIST'S Answer to him, *Luke vii. 19, 20, 21, 22.* For now Men do not make sufficient Reflection upon that Place, as this Book doth; that our Saviour takes no Notice of his casting out Dæmons, which St. *John's* Disciples had seen him do; for by this it is evident, that this Casting-out, was the Curing one sort of those Diseases, which the Prophets had said the Christ should heal, as an infallible Proof that he was the Messiah promised. And I intreat the
Jews

X The PREFACE.

Jews to consider it well, for it may be affirmed, that they are not like ever to find him, if they find him not in this Place.



T H E



THE
CONTENTS.



SEVERAL Places of
Scripture expounded, a-
gainst the Vulgar Er-
rors of Witchcraft,
&c. Page 1.

*That the great Gods, have no Com-
munication with Men.* p. 15

*That the Demons had been Men; and
of Evil Demons.* p. 21

vi The CONTENTS.

Of the Places where those Demons inhabited who were made Gods; and of COTTA's Opinion. p. 42

Of the Worship both of the Gods and Demons. p. 53

Of that Place of Scripture, 1 Cor. x. 20. What the Heathen offer, they offer it to Devils. p. 59

Of the first Commandment of the Law. p. 62

Of the Words DÆMON and DEVIL, and of the remarkable Difference betwixt those two Names; and of Sepulchres, and Relicks p. 65

That there is but one DEVIL, or SATAN; and of the Angels spoken of, Rev. ix. 11. xii. 7. 2 Cor. xii. 7. Jude, v. 6. 2 Pet. ii. 4. p. 78 *Of*

The CONTENTS. vii

Of the Demons or Spirits which our Saviour cast out; and of the Spirits of Python p. 88

Of the Word SPIRIT; of seducing Spirits; and of those Words, justify'd in the Spirit; and of the Angels that shall be judged by the Faithful. p. 129



THE HISTORY OF THE

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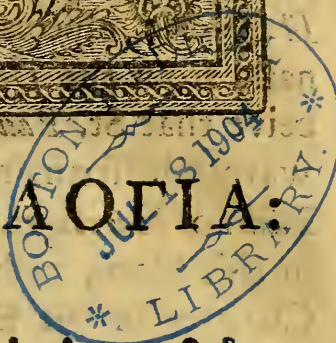




ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

OR, A

Treatise of Spirits, &c.



Several Places of Scripture expounded, against the vulgar Errors of Witchcraft, &c.



MOST Interpreters, especially of the latter Days, understand that Place of Scripture, *1 Tim. iv. 1.* That the Doctrine of Dæmons

(translated *Devils*) signifies no more than a *Devilish Doctrine*, inspir'd and taught by the *Devil*. This Interpretation doth

B

indeed

10 A T R E A T I S E

indeed set forth a true Doctrine; for every *Ill Opinion*, especially in *Religion*, is originally from the *Devil*: But who can conceive that *St. Paul* should so authentically warn Christians of it, particularly in the Point of *Marriage* and *Abstinence from Meat*, in this Place, rather than in the second Chapter of his Epistles to the *Colossians*, and in other Places, where he condemns other Doctrines, not less, if not more dangerous than these. There was no occasion here, or any where else, to call Doctrines of Devils, those that were condemned by him; his condemning them was sufficient to inform all Believers, that they proceeded from another Principle than the Spirit of God. Many are the unanswerable Reasons for our understanding of these Words, as *Epiphanius* long ago expounded them, which Exposition is approv'd by many very learned Men. There are several ancient Copies of the New Testament, wherein after these Words, *Doctrines of Devils*, you will find these, *For they shall be Worshippers of dead Men, as those that were ador'd in Israel.*

(a) If

(a) If these Words are St. Paul's Words, he hath expounded himself; if they are not, they who added them understood the Place as I do, and they are very ancient Interpreters, for these Words were in St. Epiphanius his Copy, who quoted them as being St. Paul's own words; but Epiphanius liv'd about the Year 350. If so many other Interpreters have not lik'd the same Explication, it is because they did not well consider the Doctrines of the Heathen, concerning their Dæmons, and did not make serious Reflections upon a Place whereof they had given at first such an Exposition as pleased them, and which is good in it self, tho' not the proper Sense of the Text.

The Heathen beleiv'd but one supreme God, tho' Plutarch in his Treatise of Isis and Osiris, saith, that the Heathen held

(a) See the New Testament of Oxford. Ἐσοῦσαι γὰρ νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσεβήθησαν.

(b) Plutarch of the Oracles that are ceased. Hæc de Deo sentit, quod sit incorporeus, is unus ait, Aperimetros, Genitor, &c.

12 A T R E A T I S E

Two first Principles, or two Gods, one good, and the other evil; and the second was called *Dæmon*: yet this is a Truth clear enough, that the Heathen did acknowledge one only Sovereign God, and Master above the rest. There are indeed many Contradictions in their Writings, which we will not undertake to reconcile; but certain it is, that many, yea the most considerable among them, believed this one only God, and *Plutarch* himself affirms it, for he introduces *Cleombutus*, saying, that the *Stoicks* were of the same Opinion with him, and that they held, that in so great Multitude of Gods, there was but one Eternal and Immortal, and that all the rest have had a Being by Birth, and shall have an End by Death. It was *Plato's* Doctrine in *Timeo* at *Parm.* *Celsus* likewise nameth one God, who is above all. *Apuleius* relating *Plato's* Opinion says that he believ'd but one God, who made all Things, and who is the Giver of all good Things. *St. Austin*, takes notice of his doctrine *De civit. Dei. l. 9. cap. 16.* and *Vives* in his Notes quotes those Places of *Plato* where it is asserted. *Trismegistus*

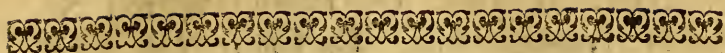
in *Asclepius* teaches every where, that there is one God : *Deus unus*, saith he, more than once, *Solus & merito Solus*,
“ The Lord of Eternity, that made the
“ World, the Father and the Lord of all
“ Things, by whom the celestial Gods,
“ and afterwards Men, have been crea-
“ ted ; the only Governors of the World,
“ whom every one obeyeth. He saith further, that all Things are of him, and depend upon his Will. *Christotle* tells us, that it is a common Opinion received of all Men, that all Things are of God : As for him, he believes that there is but one God, who perseveth all Things.

It should be noted, that tho' *Plutarch* speaks of two, yet it doth not appear that his Opinion was that these two Gods were equally supreme, for himself called one *Dæmon*, and finds a vast difference betwixt the great Gods and the *Dæmons* ; for in the same Treatise he affirms, that what the Fable relates of *Osiris* and *Typho* did happen neither to the Gods, nor to Men, but to some great *Dæmons* who proved stronger than Men :
and

14 A T R E A T I S E

and yet their Nature is not purely divine, but compounded of a spiritual and corporeal Being : whereupon he declares the Opinion of *Plato*, who saith, that the Dæmons are between the Gods and Men ; and that *Isis* and *Osiris* had been changed from good Dæmons into Gods, because of their Vertues. *Plutarch* doth not admit of two Principles only, but puts a third betwixt them, and say that they called the good one *Oromazes*, the evil *Arimanius*, and the third *Mithres* : He tells us farther, that this Opposition betwixt two Principles, is found only in this lower World, under the Moon ; that these contrary Powers are not equal, and the best is the strongest. : He quotes *Homer*, who calls *Jupiter* the Master, the Governor, the Lord of the whole World. : Lastly, in the same Place he owns one God, that rules and governs the whole World ; and in his Discourse of the Word *Ælis*, he declares that there is but one only God.





*That the great Gods, have
no Communication with
Men.*

THis Assertion seems to be contradicted, in the Acts of the Holy Apostles, *ch. 14.* where it is said, that the People, took *Barnabas* for *Jupiter*, and call'd *Paul Mercurius*; it is said that *Jupiter* and *Apollo* answered by Oracles, and that *Celsus*, calleth the Sun the Moon, and the Stars truly Celestial Heroes: Yet this Opinion is found in very good Authors, whereby it appears, that the Heathen did hold this as a Truth, *That the Celestial Gods did not meddle with Men, and had no Commerce with them*; that it had been a thing unworthy of them to come down and that it was only by the Dæmons, that Men had any Communication with Heaven.

16 A TREATISE

ven. See what *Apuleius* saith of it (a); his Doctrine is that of *Plato*, which *St. Austin* relates thus, *De Civit Dei. l. 8. c. 8.* ‘ They place their Dæmons between Heaven and Earth, that as no God can have any Commerce with Men, these Dæmons do carry to the Gods, the Prayers of Men, and from thence they bring unto Men that which they have obtained; for they that hold this Opinion, do believe it an unworthy thing, that the Gods should have any thing to do with Men, or Men with the Gods; but it is convenient that the Dæmons should have to do both with the Gods, and with Men, to let the Gods know what Men do desire, and to bring unto Men, what the Gods have granted.” Upon this *Vives* tells us of *Plato’s* Banquet, where is found what *St. Austin* saith; and noteth also, that *Plato* ascribeth

(a) De Deo Socratis. Hos cunctos Deos in sublimi ætheris vertice locatos, ab humana contagione procul discretos, plurimi non rite venerantur, &c. Quos Deos *Plato* exestimat veros, incorporales, animales sine ullo, neque fine, neque exordio, sed prorsus ac retro aviternos, &c.

this Doctrine to *Socrates*. ‘ Love, saith
‘ *Diotimus* to *Socrates*, is a great Dæmon,
‘ and every Dæmon is betwixt God and
‘ Mortal Man, and his Office is to in-
‘ terpret betwixt both, and to carry
‘ from Men their Prayers and their Sa-
‘ crifices ; and from Gods, Commands
‘ and Rewards: And by this Channel we
‘ have all that concerns Predictions, Sa-
‘ crifices, Inchantments, the Art of Divi-
‘ nation and Magick : for God doth not
‘ communicate himself unto Man, but
‘ all the Communication is by the Media-
‘ tion of Dæmons, and by them the
‘ Gods speak to Men, whether when
‘ they are awake, or when they are asleep.
Plutarch says, that to take away Dæmons,
is to take away the Communication be-
tween the Gods and Men ; that they
believe not that the Gods are present
at their Sacrifices, neither do they take
notice of them personally, but that Bu-
siness is committed to the Ministers of
the Gods, *viz.* the Dæmons ; that not
the Gods, but the Dæmons did preside
in the Oracles ; that it is fit we should
believe the Gods are wholly freed from

18 A T R E A T I S E

all Commerce with Things on the Earth: Yea it was a Dæmon named *Phæbus* who spoke in the Oracle at *Delphos*. Finally he tells us, that he hath taken away the Art of Divination from the Gods, to appropriate it absolutely to the Dæmons. It is also the Opinion of *Apuleius*, in the fore-cited Place, wherein he attributes to Dæmons all the Miracles that are wrought, all the Prophecies of Things to come, and all Sacrifices.

That if the People of *Lystra* cryed out, seeing a Miracle done by the Apostles, *that the Gods become like Men, were come down to them*, there were no reason to think that they spake of the Celestial Gods; the Dæmons, whose Habitation was the highest part of the Air, were also called Gods, as *Plutarch* hath observed. Of the Oracles ceased, *n. 8. 16. Isis and Osiris, n. 12.* That every Dæmon, did bear the Name of that Celestial God, whose Minister he was. The Philosophers likewise attributed to Dæmons whatsoever the Poets said of the Gods, coming down upon the Earth; and *Plutarch* quot-
eth

eth *Pythagoras*, *Xenocrates* and *Crisippus* for it, as holding the same Opinion. *Plato* in *Timeo* saith, that *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the rest were Dæmons, and speaks of their being begotten. *Trismegistus* in *Asclepius* saith, That there is an Administrator between Heaven and Earth, whom we call *Jupiter*; and that there is another *Jupiter Platonius*, who hath Dominion over the Earth, and the Sea, and who feeds Animals and Plants, and places both these *Jupiters* under the Sovereign God. It may be said, that the Apostles Miracle seem'd so great to the People of *Lystra*, that it made them raise up their Thoughts immediately to the Celestial Gods, and to call for Sacrifices, which the Priest did not oppose; their Business; being to keep the People in their blind Devotion; but from thence no Conclusion can be drawn against what we read of the Doctrine commonly held among the Heathen.

Celsus speaks not what is ascribed to him; and what is truly quoted of him, shews plainly that he believ'd a Sovereign

20 A T R E A T I S E

Divinity, above all the rest; and Dæmons, that were his Lieutenants, Satrapes, and Generals of his Armies. *Origen* in his first Book against *Celsus* saith, that Men should not pray to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, nor yet to the Celestial Angels, that are more certain: But it is *Origen* that speaks, who hath spoken nothing of *Celsus* before; but he only blam'd the *Jews* for Worshiping Heaven, and Angels, while they despis'd the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, which are the most excellent Parts of Heaven; and which do foretel many Things. *Pleraque vaticinantur.*



That

*That the Dæmons had
been Men; and of Evil
Dæmons.*

THE constant Opinion of the Heathen about Dæmons, was that they had been Men, and for their excellent Virtues and eminent Qualities, which they shew'd whilst they were upon Earth, were thought worthy to be taken up, and be made Partakers of such Portion of a Divine Thing, as enabled them to be Mediators, Interpreters, and Transactors in all manner of Businesses betwixt the Gods and Men: Tho' the *Platonicians* did believe a kind of Dæmons that had never been Men, yet they believ'd likewise, that the Souls of great Men were glorify'd after there Death, and became Dæmons. (a) *Apuleius*

(a) De Deo Socratis; vide Vivem in Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 9. c. 11.

22 A T R E A T I S E

expressly distinguishes these two sorts
 of Dæmons, and saith, ‘ That these are
 ‘ called Gods, who have lived justly and
 ‘ prudently, are afterwards honour’d
 ‘ by Men as Divinities, as *Amphiarnus*
 ‘ in *Boetia*, *Mopsus* in *Africa*, *Asiris* in *Egypt*,
 ‘ *Aesculapius* every where: And that these
 ‘ were that sort of Dæmons who had
 ‘ been formerly in Human Bodies. But
 ‘ that there is another kind of Dæmons,
 ‘ Nobler and more Excellent, which
 ‘ were never bound with the Bonds
 ‘ of a Body.’ Take notice of this of
Plato: His Dialogue intituled *Cratylus*, was
 compos’d to shew the Signification of
 Words, and how they agree with the
 Things themselves. *Socrates* acts the part
 of a Judge, between *Hermogenes*, *Pythagoras*
 and *Cratylus*, a Follower of *Heraclitus*;
 this is he, who for the most part ex-
 pounds Names; observe what they
 say of the Name of Dæmons; ‘ Do you
 ‘ know, saith *Socrates*, who those are
 ‘ that *Hesiodus* calls Dæmons? *Hermes*
 ‘ answers, I know not *Socrates*: And
 ‘ do you not know that sort of Men
 ‘ which he calls the *Golden Race*? *Hermo-*
 ‘ genes

genes replies, I know that *Socrates* says,
 ' That when that Race of Men was covered with Death, they were called
 ' *Demons*, Saints raised up above the
 ' the Earth, Guardians of Mortal Men,
 ' and their Protectors against the Evils
 ' that might happen to them. *Hermogenes*.
 ' *Hermogenes*. What do you conclude from that?
 ' *Socrates*. I believe that he calls a Golden
 ' Race, not that which is made of that
 ' Metal, but a sort of Men very virtuous
 ' and excellent in all Things; but
 ' that which makes me believe it, is because
 ' he saith that we are a Generation
 ' of Iron. *Hermes*. You say true *Socrates*;
 ' Do you not think then that if
 ' there were amongst us any honest Man,
 ' that he was of that Golden Generation,
 ' according to *Hesiodus* his Opinion?
 ' *Hermes*. It ought to be so *Socrates*;
 ' Are honest Men any thing else but
 ' wise Men? *Hermes*. Certainly they
 ' are wise Men. *Socrates*. He calleth
 ' therefore, as I think, that sort of *Mer-*
 ' *Demons*, because they were wise and
 ' learned; for according to the ancient
 ' Dia-

24 A T R E A T I S E

‘ Dialect of our Language, this Name
 ‘ is given to them that are such : there-
 ‘ fore both he, and other Poets in great
 ‘ Numbers do speak perfectly well, when
 ‘ they say that after a Man is dead well,
 ‘ he receives a great Reward, and that
 ‘ he is made a *Dæmon*, according to the
 ‘ Title due to his Wisdom : As for me,
 ‘ I fear not to affirm, that every good
 ‘ Man is a *Dæmon*, and that he should
 ‘ be so called both in his Life-time, and
 ‘ after his Death. *St. Austin* doubted
 not but this was the *Platonick* Doctrine,
 since the Title of one of his Chapters is
 this, *De Civitate Dei. l. 9. c. 11. Of the*
Platonician’s Opinion, who believe that the
Souls of Men are Demons after they are gone
out of their Bodies. *Plutarch* in his Trea-
 tise of the *Familiar Spirit of Socrates*, saith
 expressly, *That the deify’d Souls became Dæ-*
mons, and take care of Men.

After this it cannot be said that *Plato*
 did not teach, that there were *Demons*
 which had been *Men*, and these very *Dæ-*
mons were esteemed the true Mediators

betwixt the celestial Gods and Men, who carried the Prayers up to Heaven, and brought down Blessings and Rewards; who received the Oblations, and returned Answers. This is precisely what *Hesiodus* taught: He was a Poet, I confess, but besides that, the Poets were the People's Divines; this is quoted as a great Author, and we have seen before that it is particularly upon his Opinion that *Socrates* in *Plato* groundeth his touching *Demons*; tho' he maketh likewise, that many other Poets had said the same Things. Hear how *Plato* speaks in another Place upon the same Subject, *Shall we not believe Hesiodus? Surely after the Men of this sort be dead, they are constituted Demons, Saints, and rais'd up above the Earth (very good;) and appointed to preserve mortal Men from Evil, and to protect them; (truly we believe it so.)*

Here we should particularly take Notice of *Plato's* Opinion, because his Sect was very much followed in *St Paul's* Time. *Vives*, upon the last quoted

26 A T R E A T I S E

Place of St. *Austin*, doth observe, that the Sentiments of Philosophers, tho' of the same Sect, were very different about the Gods, and that *Apuleius* was of another Opinion than *Plato* in that Point ; and I cannot find that *Plato* distinguishes, as *Apuleius* does, two sorts of *Dæmons*, whereof some had been Men, and others not: Yea, *Apuleius* says only that Philosophers did suppose three sorts of Gods, *viz.* a soveraign one, the first and only God of that Order, above the World, and incorporeal : after him the Planets, and the other Divinities, called Celestial ; and then, lastly, they whom the ancient *Romans* named *Medioximi*, whose Quality, Power and Habitation were below that of celestial Gods, and above that of Men. But there he makes no Distinction of *Dæmons*, and all that he says will not make us believe otherwise, but that he meant those Souls of Men which (in his Opinion) being separated from their Bodies, became *Dæmons*, being rais'd up to that middle Nature betwixt the Gods and Men, which he calls properly *Dæmons*, and to whom

whom he also gives the Name of *Gods*. It's true, he likewise allows the Name of *Dæmon* to *Saturn*, *Rea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and others that were accounted celestial *Gods*; but we must observe, that the most common Opinion was, that those *Gods* had been *Men*, and that the same was constantly believ'd of them; which *Plutarch* saith of *Isis* and *Osiris*, of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, viz. that of *Dæmons* they had been made *Gods*, and that the *Worship* render'd to them was a mixed *Worship* of that of the *Gods*, and that of *Dæmons*. *Plato* in like manner calls *Dæmon* the *Soul* of a *Man*, even before it be out of the *Body*, with respect to that Excellency that makes him capable of becoming a *Dæmon*, after his Separation from the *Body*. All this persuades me that *Plato* believed but one sort of *Dæmons*, properly so called, and what I have noted of him justifies that he own'd, that all those *Dæmons* were the *Souls* of *Men* departed, who had lived in the *Practice* of *Vertue*. This is so much the more probable that he saith, that it was above his *Capacity*

to explain well what they were, whom they called *Demons*, and that we must abide by the Opinion of ancient Authors, who being the Sons of the Gods, did best know their Parents Opinion. Now the Ancients are *Hesiodus*, and the other Poets of the same Opinion, and who have said that the *Demons* were the Souls of Men of the *Golden Generation*; *Hermes Trismegistus* was one of the Sons of the Gods. St. *Austin* declares his Opinion thus; *De Civit. Dei. l. 8. c. 26.* he gives to understand that he believ'd that the *Demons* were made of the Souls of Men departed. *Cicero*, who was a *Platonician* faith, in the second Book of *Laws*, That the *Denicals* were *Festivals* dedicated to the *Dead*, which (faith he) had not been, had not the Ancients believ'd that they leaving this *Life*, are admitted into the *Number of the Gods*.

As for *Apuleius* his Notion, That there were two sorts of *Demons*, some that had been Men, and others that had never been (a) cumber'd with corporeal Bonds: It is remarkable,

(a) Si nubes sublime volitant, &c. Quid tandem futura censes Dæmonum corpora, quæ concreta multo minus, & tanto

remarkable, that he ascribes to the second sort, certain Bodies formed of the purest Air, and of a most subtile Composition. It is the Sentiment of *Plutarch*, who tells us in *The Oracles that are ceased*, *That they are Spirits cloathed with an airy Substance.* Thus *Amiot* hath translated the 125th Verse of *Hesiodus's* Works, called *The Works of Days*, quoted by *Plutarch*: But when *Hesiodus* names ^{ἄνθρωποι ἐβλάμμενον}, he speaks of Men of the *Golden Generation*, who had been made *Dæmons* by *Jupiter*: From whence may be conjectur'd, that those excellent *Dæmons*, according to *Apuleius*, who had Bodies formed of the purest and most subtile Air, were according to *Hesiodus* and *Plutarch* that quotes him, the Souls of dead Men. And it must be confess'd, that the most common Opinion was, that there were none other.

But suppose that the Notion of *Apuleius* were admitted, and *Plato* held the

tanto sublimiora? non enim sunt ex hac feculenta nebula tumida caligine conglobata, sed ex illo purissimo æris liquido & sereno elemento coalita. De Deo Socratis.

same

same (which doth not appear.) The Distribution made by *Apuleius* of the several Employments of each sort of *Demons*, must also be own'd to have been a common Doctrine, and *Plato's* Doctrine too; and this is manifest, that the Mediatorship betwixt the Gods and Men, could belong (according to the common Opinion, and that of *Plato*) only to the *Demons* that had been mention'd: and this is the Assertion; for in the first place *Apuleius* saith, *That the Lares, and such as were called Dei Penates, are of the Number of those Demons that had been Men.* And in Explication of *Plato's* Principles he says, *That the Demons, whom we may call Genia and Lares, are esteemed to be the Ministers of the Gods, the Guardians of Men, and their Intérpreters; if they request-ed any thing of the Gods.* Secondly, *Apuleius* ascribes to the *Demons* who never were Men, another Office than of Mediators betwixt the Gods and Men; he says, *That they are always near and Assistant to Men, semper ad sunt, to consider all their Actions, and take Notice even of their Thoughts; that after Men are departed, they*

go with their Souls to give Testimony of their Behaviour, whereupon Judgment is given. Hence it appears, that the Office of carrying the Prayers and Oblations of Men to Heaven, and bringing from thence Blessings and Rewards, did belong to the *Demons* that had been Men; that which *Plato* hath taught very clearly in the Places I have cited. They that will be more particularly informed concerning the Distinction of *Demons*, may read *Marcillus Ficinus* upon the 10th Book of *Plato's* Republick, at the latter end, and in *Timeo*, c. 14. But let it be noted, that here I take notice only of the airy *Demons* Mediators betwixt the celestial Gods and Men; which were also the Object of the People's Worship.

If it be objected, that the *Demons* cannot well be called the Ministers of the great God, since they believed some good and some evil *Demons*. I answer, that I have spoken of the *Demons* Mediators, and the common Object of the Heathen's religious Worship; the Subject

ject requir'd not any notice to be taken of others, nor to be distinguish'd, where the Heathen made no Distinction. If in *Plutarch* some did believe wicked *Demons*, others do condemn that Opinion. According to *Plato* all *Demons* were Gods; and that Philosopher acknowledged no Gods but good ones. *We have*, saith *St. Austin*, *De Civit. Dei*. l. 8. c. 13. *Plato's Opinion who saith that the Gods are good, that there is no evil Gods which destroys their Opinion, who hold, that the evil Gods are to be appeas'd with Sacrifices, lest they should do us Mischief. Celsus own'd none but good ones. Origen contra Cels. lib. 8. fol. 103.*

It is here objected, that the Heathen in general did not believe that there were *Demons* in a middle State betwixt the great God and the Heroes, since the *Perapateticks* believ'd no Spirits save those which God had fixed to each celestial Globe to turn it: That the *Stoicks* own'd no *Demons*, and that *Socrates's* Opinion was very agreeable to that of Christians. For answer to this
I say,

I say, that the particular Opinion of one Sect is no Reason why the most common should not be attributed to the general; my Design was to shew what was the most general Object of the People's Devotion, and the vulger Opinion on which it was grounded; I was not obliged to take notice of all the particular Opinions of Philosophers which were not follow'd by the People. The *Peripateticks* did appear but very little in the Time of *St. Paul*; and these Intelligences which they join'd to each Sphere, were none other then the *Dæmons*, which the *Platonicians* affixed to them, as *Marcianus Ficinus* witnesses; for all this they might believe the airy *Dæmons* we are discoursing of; I read nothing of them for that Time upon that Subject. The Opinion of *Epicurus*, who seem'd to deny all manner of Spirits, was then better approved than that of the *Peripateticks*, and yet it put no stop to the Devotion then in use among the People, according to the Principles of *Platonicians*, *Pythagorans*, and the Poets:

As for *Aristotle, lib. de Mundo, c. 6.* if he be the Author of that Book, he surely believ'd no Dæmons, either good or bad; he believed one only God, who being placed in the highest part of the Universe, did govern all the Motions thereof, as a Machine with several Wheels and Springs depending one upon another, tho' their Motions were very different; *None otherwise, saith he, than a Puppet Engineer, by one first Spring makes the rest to move, and so sets on work and motion all other Machines.* In his Opinion there is not a better Sentiment, nor more worthy of God's Goodness and Majesty, than this, *That this Sovereign Power is seated in the highest Part of Heaven, communicates to all Things, even the farthest, of what is necessary for their Preservation.* He cannot approve their Fancy, who hold, *That this Power comes down, and is inserted into Things unworthy of it, and which cannot be named with Modesty: Neither doth he believe that he needs any Servants, or Help, but he can do all Things by one single Motion, with which*
he

he sets on work all others afterwards. And yet he confesses, that ancient Authors have said, that all was full of Gods; and indeed *Plato* hath it in his *Epin.* This Doctrine of One God, who moves all Things by Himself, and without Help, is taught also by *Aristotle's* Natural Philosophy. It is true, that in his *Metaphysick* he allows to each Heaven a separate Substance, unmoveable, which gives Motion to the Orb. But in the second Book of Heaven, *A. 12.* he affirms, That Heaven moves of it self, as an Animal, and attributes a Soul to it, which his ancient Greek, Arabian, and Latin Interpreters have called a reasonable Soul; so that it is not easy to know *Aristotle's* particular Opinion; However, hear what he saith, *lib. 2. Metaph. c. 8.* “It hath been taught by
 “our Predecessors, even the most an-
 “cient, that the Planets are Gods, &c.
 “If any Man, (excepting him who is
 “the only first) takes up this Senti-
 “ment that the Ancients believ'd that

36 A TREATISE

“ the first Substances were as Gods, he will
 “ judge that this was divinely said.

Let every Man reflect on this Place, that will not believe, that any among the Heathen was simple enough to think that the Planets were Gods; or that *Jupiter, Mars, &c.* had their Abode assign'd them in the Planets that bear their Names; and which have it, saith he, “ only because they believ'd that those Gods had “ particular Dominion upon the Influence “ of those Planets. I remember not to have read of this Notion any where; there is something that comes near it, in the divers Sentiments of Philosophers, mention'd by *Cicero* upon this Subject, in his Book *De Natura Deorum*; but I have found in the first Book, that several Philosophers believ'd that the Planets were Gods. *Plato* in his *Epinomis*, teaches that they are animated Bodies, which must be ador'd as Gods: and in *Crytulus* he says, that those Gods are called *œdai*, because they run continually. The Poets have declared,
 (a) that

(a) that Apollo was in the Sun, as in a Chariot, which he guided; Diana likewise in the Moon, &c. Apuleius, in the Book which he writ of Plato's Principles, and of Socrates his God, doth divide the celestial Gods into visible and invisible; and saith, that the visible ones are the Lights of the World, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars.

But let us return to Aristotle, and I find that in his Time Men became Gods; he doth not declare his own Opinion of the Matter, but here is what he saith, "If Men become Gods, as they hold, because of the Excellencies of their Vertues, the Habit of their Mind, must necessarily be contrary to a brutish Habit. In one Word, in the 7th B. *De Reipub.* he tells us, That the Gods must be honour'd by the People, and that the Service to be

(a) Vossius de Idol. lib. 2. cap. 30, 31. Deos Coelites partim visu usurpamus, alios intellectu vestigamus: ac visu quidem cernimus vos ô clarissima mundi lumina, labentem cœlo quæ ducitis annum. De Deo Socratis.

38 A TREATISE

perform'd for them, ought to be committed to the oldest Men, who have need of Rest. But if all this was taught, and after this Manner, by the *Peripateticks* in *St. Paul's* Time, those Philosophers did not hold an Opinion contrary to the common People, who believed that the *Demons* were dead Men, which became the Object of the Adoration of the Living.

As for the *Stoicks*, I confess that they acknowledg'd not the Mediation of *Dæmons*, since they believ'd that the Supreme God was the World; and that all the Gods Worshipp'd under several Names, were only the several Parts of the World, whic were all Animated by, and Partakers of the Divinity of the whole, *Cicero de Nat. libr. 1, 2. n. 3.* But you know that this Opinion was not receiv'd among the People that worship'd the Celestial Gods, and *Dæmons* Mediators betwixt the Gods and Men; nor by the wise Men, who did own one Sovereign God, Maker and Master of the World, and rais'd up above the
Hea-

Heavens. (a) God, saith *Trismegistus* in *Asclepio*, lifted up above the top of the highest Heaven, is every where; takes Notice of all Things: for beyond Heaven there is a Place without Stars, seperated from all Corporeal Things. God, saith *Aristotle*, bath the first and the highest Seat.

As for what is said of *Socrates*, That his Notions were conformable to those of Christians, especially about Providence, I have read what *Xenophon* relates in *lib. 1. and 4.* of memorable Things, and have found their Philosophy intangled with Pagan Errors; but I met with no Christianity there. He speaks almost every where of Gods, in the Plural Number, and sometimes calls them Dæmons: at the latter end of the 4th Book, he saith, That a Demon whom he calls God, hindred him from answering his Judges. Whereupon both *Apuleius* and *Plutarch* have written each of them a Treatise; the former of the

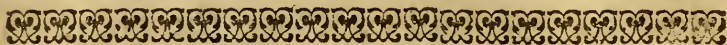
(a) See *Balzac's* Antiquities of the Christian Religion, or fourth Defence.

God, and the latter of the Dæmon of *Socrates*; or as *Amiot* translates it, *Concerning the Familiar Spirit of Socrates*; and both do assert, that this God of *Socrates* was a Dæmon; that is, one of those lesser Gods, which were below and inferior to the great Gods. And will any Man think what *Socrates* says, lib. 4. *That the Gods must be honour'd after the Manner of the Country where we are*; doth favour much of Christianity. Examine in the same Book, his Conversation with *Theodora*, and what *Xenophon* saith of him in his Banquet; and I assure my self that *Erasmus* himself would not cry out, *O Saint Socrates, pray for us!* The wise Heathen themselves were not pleased with the Discourses of *Socrates*, touching the Divinity. They have taken Notice, that he called the Sun *God*, and the Spirit of Man; and that he spake sometimes as if there had been many (b). His Death was honourable to him, and made him be looked upon as

(b) Cicero de Nat. D. lib. 1. Arnob. lib. 8.

a Martyr, for having true Sentiments of the Divinity: But the Truth is, that he had no settled Notions of God, and that he was put to Death merely for doubting of, and opposing the common Opinion the others had of the Gods, which were established by Authority. The Fathers have shew'd that they have had no high Esteem for him: And he that called him the *Athenian* Buffoon (as indeed Irony was his beloved Figure) was not minded to propose him as an Example to Christians. What *St. Austin* relates of him, *De Consensu Ev. c. 18.* *That every God is to be served after that Manner that himself hath ordained;* doth shew, that even an Heathen is to keep the Orders of the Divinity which is tendered to him; but it justifies also, that this wise Man was never enlightned with the right Knowledge of that One only God, who hath reveal'd himself to Man by his Word. However, *Socrate's* Opinion was not the common Opinion of the Heathen, which we are now discoursing of; for *Xenophon, lib. 1. Rer. Mem.* tells us, *That this Philosopher be-*

lieved that the Gods did take care of Humane Affairs after another Manner than many did imagine.



*Of the Places where those
Dæmons inhabited who
were made Gods; and
of COTTA's Opinion.*

WHAT is said, that Merit had raised up (*Hercules, Liber, &c.*) to Heaven seems to contradict what is affirm'd, that *Dæmons dwell only in the Air*: We have said indeed, that the Dæmons Mediators betwixt the Gods and Men, *did dwell in the Air*. St. *Austin* tells us, That it was the Opinion of the Heathens, *De Civ. l. 8. c. 18, 21, 22. & lib. 9. c. 12.* for giving an Account of their Doctrine, he saith, "The Gods do hold the highest Place, Men the lowest, and Dæmons the middle; for the Habitation of the Gods is in Heaven, that
" of

“ of Men upon Earth, and the Air is
“ that of Dæmons.” *Apuleius, De D. S.*
saith, “ That the Dæmons are betwixt
“ Heaven and Earth, in that Place of
“ Air that is betwixt them. But this
“ Air where the Dæmons dwell, is not
“ the nearest to the Earth ; for as *A-*
“ *puleius* hath it, the Planets are above
“ in Heaven in the *Æthere*, that is,
“ in the Heat of a pure Fire ; why
“ should the Air alone, among the E-
“ lements, the Air which incloses, be
“ left a Wilderness by Nature, and de-
“ stitute of Animals fit to cultivate the
“ same? For what some say, that Birds
“ are the Animals of the Air, cannot
“ be true : There is no Bird that flies
“ higher than the top of *Olympus*, which
“ is but few Furlongs eminent above
“ the Earth : What shall become then
“ of that great Space of the Air, which
“ reaches from the Moon to the top of
“ *Olympus* ? Shall that be destitute of
“ Animals ? Shall that Part of Nature
“ be dead and of no use ? Consider it
“ well : Birds cannot be esteemed but
“ terrestrial Creatures, they fetch their

“ Food from the Earth, there they
 “ make their Rest when they are
 “ weary ; and the Air which they beat
 “ with their Wings in flying, is only
 “ this lowest Air, near the Earth.
 “ Reason therefore will have us con-
 “ ceive, that what is truly the Air,
 “ hath also its proper Animals.” By
 all these Reasons he affirms, that the
 Dæmons are the Inhabitants of this
 Air above *Olympus*. It is also the Sen-
 timent of *Hermes* in *Asclepio* ; “ I speak,
 “ saith he, of the Dæmons which I
 “ believe do dwell with us, and of
 “ those airy ones, which dwell in the
 “ purest Part of the Air, above us and
 “ our Earth ; where arises no Fog, and no
 “ Disturbance.” As for that Part of the
 Air nearest to the Earth, *Hermes* thinks
 it to be the Place of the Damned, for
 he saith, “ When the Soul is separated
 “ from the Body, the great *Demon* exa-
 “ mines the Merits thereof ; if it be
 “ adorned with Piety and Justice, it is
 “ permitted to go into convenient Pla-
 “ ces ; but if he finds it polluted with
 “ Sins, and covered with Vices, he
 “ throws

“ throws it down into low Places, and
“ expoſes it to Storms and Whirl-
“ winds in the Air, to Water and
“ Fire, which do often fight together,
“ and ſo being always agitated with
“ continual Pains, it is toſſed, without
“ ceaſing, betwixt Heaven and Earth,
“ by the Waves of the World. Mark
well *theſe Storms and Hurricanes betwixt
Heaven and Earth*; for, to my thinking,
this clearly teaches us, that Heaven, to
the which theſe Heroes were raiſed up,
is that Space of the Air above the Clouds
where are no Commotions, and which
ſhould be that convenient Place for righ-
teous Souls.

However, I have ſufficiently ſhew'd,
that according to the moſt conſtant,
and common Doctrine of the Heathen,
the Mediator *Demons*, are the Souls of
dead Men, who lived virtuoſly, and
whoſe conſtant Abode is in the higheſt
and pureſt Part of the Air, whence they
come down to Men, and go up to the
Gods: If I have ſaid that *Herculus, Liber,*
&c. were raiſed up to Heaven by their
Merits,

46 A T R E A T I S E

Merits, that was the Opinion of the Heathen, as it is express'd in the Laws of the twelve Tables. (a) We must say therefore, that the Heaven whereinto these were admitted after Death, was the highest and purest Part of the Air, which is often called Heaven, and where do dwell those Souls which became *Demons*; or else we must say with *Plutarch*, that *Hercules, Liber, &c.* were turned from *Demons* into Gods, and consequently also raised up from the Air into Heaven. As indeed *Hesiodus* his Opinion, as *Plutarch* witnesses, in his Treatise of *The Oracles that are ceas'd*, was that the Souls of Virtuous Men, were changed into Heroes, or Demi-Gods: that afterwards they became *Demons*, that at last, being well purified by Vertue, they were made Gods, except those that died *Demons*, and such as were again entangled with mortal Bodies. This

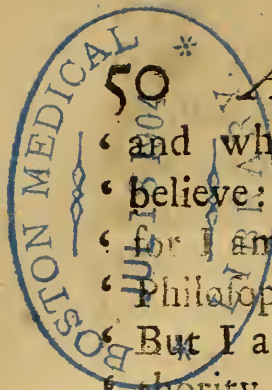
(a) Cicero, Lib. 1. Legum. Separatim nemque habessit Deos sive novos, sed nec advenas, nice publice assitos: Ritus familiæ, patrumque servanto. Divos, & eos qui celestes semper habitî sunt colunto. Et illos quos in cœlum merita vocaverint. Herculem, Liberum, Æsculapium, Castorem, pollucem, Quirinum, Deorum, Manuum jura sancta sunt. Hos Letho datos Divos habento.

This proves that the very celestial Gods, whom the greatest part worship'd, had been Men as well as the *Demons*, and that St. *Austin* was in the right *De Civ. D. l. 8. c. 26.* when he said, *That the whole Religion of the Heathen consisted in the Worship of dead Men.* That which he proves by the Authority of *Varro* and *Trismegistus*, I will add to what he says, that the Genealogy of the Gods and their Actions, set forth by the *Poets*, and particularly by *Hesiodus*, as also written in Prose, and seriously related by *Apollodorus*, as true Histories, could not beget any other Sentiment in the People than this, That the Gods, whom they served, had been Men. They could not but be confirmed in this Opinion, by the *Apotheoses*, when they saw that publick Authority did from time to time canonize, and set in the Number of the Gods, some Men, whom they had seen to die. The Civil Magistrate, and both the high and ordinary *Priests* did unanimously labour to maintain the Vulgar in the same Opinion,

pinion, their Design being to have the highest Honours rendred after Death to them, who had best served the State, whether in War, or in Peace; and keep the People in Awe, by the Fear of that Divine Power, which those were rais'd up to in Heaven, to whom they had yielded Obedience upon Earth. This appears particularly by *Plato's* Books, *De Republica*. The *Priests* were taken from among the Heads of the People, who could bear no longer the Burden of the Civil Wars; or whom they thought fit to make the Heads of Religion, for the Good of the State.

As for the private Notions they might have in their Souls concerning the Divinities they ador'd, and their Worship, we may judge of them by the Discourse of one of their High-Priests, *Cotta in Cicero, De Nat. D. l. 3.* ‘ I
 ‘ have been sensibly touched, *Balbus*,
 ‘ with your Exhortation, to remember
 ‘ that I am *Cotta*, and a High-Priest;
 ‘ I perceive that the Meaning is, that
 ‘ I ought to defend the Doctrine we
 ‘ have

‘ have receiv’d from our Ancestors,
‘ concerning the immortal Gods, and
‘ maintain the Sacrifices, Ceremonies
‘ and Religion, that’s my Design, and
‘ I did it always ; and all the Discourse,
‘ whether of the Learned, or of the
‘ Ignorant, cannot take from me that
‘ Opinion I receiv’d from my Ancestors
‘ touching the Worship of the Celestial
‘ Gods ; but in the Case of Religion
‘ I consult with the High-Priests that
‘ went before me, and not with the
‘ old Philosophers. I give more Credit
‘ to the Divine *Laelius*, than to the most
‘ learned *Stoicks* in the World. All the
‘ Religion of the People of *Rome* con-
‘ sists in the Sacrifices and Divinations :
‘ to which I may add the Predictions and
‘ Augures, whereof we are warned by
‘ the Interpreters of the *Sybils*, and by
‘ the *Harispices* of *Prognosticators*. I hold
‘ that none of these Devotions is to be
‘ despised : and I am sure that the
‘ Foundations of our State were lay’d
‘ upon the Prognostications of *Romulus*,
‘ and upon the Ceremonies instituted
‘ by *Numa*. This is what *Cotta* believ’d,



A T R E A T I S E

‘ and what the High-Priest ought to
 ‘ believe: And now tell me your Thoughts,
 ‘ for I am to learn of you, who are as
 ‘ Philosopher, the Reason of our Religion.
 ‘ But I am to believe it upon the Au-
 ‘ thority of our Ancestors, tho’ no Reason
 ‘ of it were given me. *Balbus* having
 ‘ asked him what he would have? he
 answered him thus, ‘ The first Thing
 ‘ is, that tho’ all Men (except those that
 ‘ are altogether ungodly) do agree that
 ‘ there are Gods, and nothing can per-
 ‘ swade me of the contrary; yet I be-
 ‘ lieve it merely upon the Authority
 ‘ of the Ancients, and you give me no
 ‘ Reason why it should be believ’d.
 And a little after, ‘ Because you judged
 ‘ not that this Truth was as plain as you
 ‘ desir’d it should be, you would proye
 ‘ by several Arguments, that there were
 ‘ Gods: as for me, it is sufficient that
 ‘ the Ancients have convey’d it to us
 ‘ by Tradition; but you despise Authors
 ‘ and will dispute by Reason: Give leave
 ‘ therefore to my Reason to dispute with
 ‘ yours.’ After this he maintains by
 Reason the Atheistical Part, which he says

he

he did renounce to hold to the Habitation of his Ancestors, and out of Respect to their Authority. And what think you now? Doth not he, who calls himself the High-Priest among Christians, make good use of Heathenish Principels? Do ye not think, that those who would have us believe the Trinity, and other Mysteries of our Holy Religion, and the Divinity of the Holy Scripture, upon none other Ground than because all that was believ'd by them that went before us, or upon the Authority of the Church, or of other Leaders, that they have not profited little by *Cotta's* Instructions. But are you not grieved to see the Truths of *Christianity* treated at no better Rate than were the Fables of the *Heathenish* Worship. Do you not Judge then, that these, who so plainly declare that they stand to *Christ's* Religion only upon Men's Authority, have not in their Hearts better Notions of it than *Cotta* had of that of his false Gods: It is apparent enough, that they who so highly assert their Authority, of being the only Guides in Matters of

Religion, have the same Design with the High-Priest, in *Cicero's* Time. This is the only thing they aim at, to Maintain the ignorant People in their Opinion, and in the Practice of those Ceremonies already receiv'd, but never to permit them to examine the Doctrine, enquire after the Truth, and reform and rectify their Sentiments. *Socrates* was put to Death for offering at it, and the Maxim that caus'd it did not die with him; *Plato* profited by his Example, and taught *Cotta* what we have heard of him: for he speaks thus, *lib. legum* II. "I have said that
 " the Souls of the Dead have some
 " Power, whereby they take care of
 " humane Affairs; that is true, and
 " much might be said on that Subject:
 " wherefore, unless Men were out of
 " their Senses, they must believe upon
 " the Account of the Ancients and
 " commonly receiv'd Tradition, and
 " the Authority of the Law-givers that
 " have ordained it.



Of the Worship both of the Gods and Dæmons.

SINCE we are entred upon the Subject of *Dæmons* become Gods, we must not leave it without some Reflections upon what *Plutarch* says, *That their Worship was a mixt Worship of that of the Gods, and of that of Dæmons*: which clearly discovers that there was a Difference, at least, according to the Philosophers Opinion, betwixt the Worship peculiar to the celestial Gods, and that which belonged to *Dæmons*; as indeed *Trismegistus*, so often quoted by *St. Austin*, saith in *Asclepio*, “ That Heaven and the celestial Gods were pleas’d in receiving the Admirations, Praises, and Obedience of Men; whereupon he makes a large Commentary, and then ends with these Words. To Honour the Divinity with Simplicity

“ plicity of Spirit, and a pure Heart;
 “ to reverence his Works, and give
 “ Thanks to his Will, which alone is
 “ good; this is true Philosophy, which
 “ is polluted by no troublesome Cu-
 “ riosity.” At the latter end he falls
 to Prayer, and *Asclepius* having whi-
 pper’d to him, that to his Prayers should
 be added offering of Incense and other
 Perfumes, he grows angry, and answers
 thus, “ *Asclepius*, you ought to have
 “ better Thoughts; it is a kind of Sa-
 “ crilege to offer Incense to any thing
 “ else but God; when we pray, no-
 “ thing is wanting to him, who him-
 “ self is all Things; but we worship by
 “ giving of Thanks; the high Incense
 “ which God requires is, that Men should
 “ give him Thanks.” I think to see
 by this, the Difference betwixt the Wor-
 ship of the Gods and that of *Demons*;
 which must be this, That the Worship
 of the Gods must be spiritual, and con-
 sisted in holy Meditations, the Affection
 of the Heart, giving of Thanks, and
 Obedience; and that of *Demons*, was
 all that Pomp of Ceremonies, and of-
 fering

fering of Sacrifices: As indeed as to Temples, *Trismegistus* saith “ That as “ the Supreme God, the Lord and “ Father, hath made the celestial “ Gods; so Man hath made the Gods “ that are in Churches. And what follows clearly shews, that his Notion was, that the Gods made by Men, were truly Gods, made up (saith he) *of the Divine Nature, and of the Matter that was found among Men.* It is true as it is added, *that Men cannot create Souls, but they call in the Souls of Dæmons, or of Angels.* *Apuleius* speaking of Dæmons of the second Order, which had been Men, saith likewise, “ That they “ were called Gods, who having led a “ wise and just Course of Life, were “ honoured by Men, who consecrated “ Temples unto them, and appointed “ Ceremonies for their Worship, and “ by these own’d them for Divinities. Wherefore it is manifest, that Philosophers believed that Churches were consecrated only to Dæmons that had been Men. They had the same Notion of Images, *Trismegistus* saith, *That Men*

56 A TREATISE

Men having invented the Art of making Gods, did call in Invocation the Souls of Demons, to put them into those holy Imagies, and that by this Means the Idols, Idola, have Power to do Good or Evil.

Note that in this Place, Idol and Image are the same thing. As for the Sacrifices and Ceremonies, we have seen that *Apuleius* reckons them among the Honours rendred to Dæmons of the second Order, that is, which had been Men. He doth not tell us with what Form of Worship the others must be served, tho' he declares that they are religiously to be honour'd. Hear how how he speaks of what is due to the Celestial Gods and to Dæmons;

“ All the Celestial Gods do always en-
 “ joy the same eternal Equality, the
 “ same Temper of Spirit, which never
 “ exceeds its Bounds, either towards
 “ Grief or Pleasure: God cannot be
 “ subject to any Commotion, either of
 “ Action or of Love; he can neither
 “ be transported with Anger, nor
 “ moved with Pity; he is freed from
 “ all Passions, he can neither mourn
 “ nor

“ nor rejoyce, &c. But all these, and all
“ things of this kind belong to Dæ-
“ mons, who are in a middle Ele-
“ vation ; they are as we, capable of
“ being provok’d and appeas’d ; they
“ can be angry and compassionate ; Men
“ may obtain their Favour by Offerings,
“ soften them by Prayers, and provoke
“ them by Injuries, &c. And for this
“ Reason, we are to receive with Faith
“ the divers Observations of Religion,
“ the Devotions of sacred Ceremonies
“ and Sacrifices. The Meaning is, that
if Men had respect only to the Ce-
lestial Gods, who can be sensible of
nothing, there would be no need of all
the Ceremonies of Religion ; they should
be honour’d, according to *Trismegistus’s*
Opinion, by pure Obedience and Thankf-
giving : But that by reason of the Varie-
ty, which the Dæmons are capable of,
all those Religious Ceremonies must be
observed, whereby Men do endeavour,
either to appease them, or to get Fa-
vours from them. Whereupon it should
be noted, that the Celestial Gods, who
were Dæmons before, having not quite

58 A T R E A T I S E

put off their Nature and former Affections, were, according to *Plutarch's* Opinion, to be served both as Gods and as Dæmons, that is with a mixt Worship, honouring them with Hymns and Praises, as *Plato* teaches ; it is likewise requisite to build them Temples, to offer Sacrifices to them to please them, to keep close to the Ceremonial Observations of Religion, as it is practised in the Worship of Dæmons. Seeing therefore, that the Multitude of Gods which the Heathen worship'd in their Images, with Sacrifices and other Religious Services, were either Dæmons Mediators, or Dæmons raised up to Heaven, and all such Gods as had been Men, as appears, by the Histories of their Lives, and of their Translations: It follows, that all the Religion of the Heathen consisted in the Worship of Dead Men ; and that *St. Paul* was in the right when he said, That what the Heathen offered, they offered it to *Demons* ; for thus it should be translated, and not to *Devils*.



Of that Place of Scripture, I Cor. x. 20. What the Heathen offer, they offer it to Devils.

THIS place of Holy Writ, being ill translated in our vulgar Tongue, should be here well reflected upon, ἅ θύει τὰ ἴδω Δαιμονίων θύει ἔ τῶ Θεῷ, for it should be rendred, *to Demons, not to Devils* ; for the Apostle speaks of the Object of the Heathenish Worship, and according to the Notions of the Heathen, since he gives it the same Name which they did, this is very remarkable: If Reflection be made upon the Hebrew Word, which the *Septuagint* have translated *Demons*, for the Words of St. Paul, in this Place, do allude to those, *Deut. 32. 17.* where *Moses* speaking of the Sacrifices

60 A T R E A T I S E

Which the Children of *Israel* offer'd to the Gods of *Moab* and of *Midian*, saith (according to the Translation of the *Septuagint* of the *Vulgate*, and of *Tremelius*) *They offered to Demons, not to Gods* : We translated, *They offered to Idols that are no Gods*. The Translation of the *Seventy*, which *St. Paul* follow'd, doth Answer the Hebrew Text, better than the other: *Sched*, which both the *Seventy* and *St. Paul*, have translated *Demons*, hath great Affinity with the Word *Scaddai*, one of the Names which the holy Language gives to God alone, to signify that God alone is sufficient to Himself, and to all Things besides. The *Septuagint* have translated *Sched* twenty Times by the Word *Vasos*, which signifies a Woman's Brest that affords sufficient Nourishment for young Children; but they have render'd it but twice by the word *Demons*, viz. *Deut. 32. 17.* and *Psf. 106. 37.* the only Places wherein it is used to signify a Form of unlawful Worship. My Observation is this, that the word *Sched* answers well to that of *Demon*, which without doubt was an Honourable

ble Name given to the Object of religious Worship by the Neighbouring Nations, and particularly the *Midianitas*, whose Language had much Affinity with the *Hebrew*, as the *Grecians* gave the Name of *Demons* to them, whom they most constantly ador'd. What I infer from it, is, that it clearly appears, that the Apostle doth here set forth the Doctrine of the Heathen, according to their own Notions, and the Confessions of their wisest Philosophers, viz. that *what they offered, they offered it to Demons*; and withal to teach Christians, who were not Ignorant what Things God had formerly condemned, and might very well be sensible of the Strength of his Allusion, that such Worship could but be very displeasing to God: whence it follows, that they were by no Means to partake of the Heathenish Sacrifices, since by the Confession of those that offer'd them, they were offered to *Demons*, and were the same Things which the Children of *Israel* having sacrificed unto, under such Name as was not less Honourable than that
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of *Demons*, had notwithstanding highly provoked God. By this *St. Paul* hath taught us these two Things in general, 1. That the Heathen committed Sin in offering Sacrifices to any but God. 2. That Christians should have nothing to do with any religious Worship, which does not directly and immediately relate to God, and to him alone; notwithstanding all the Reasons which Men may pretend to the contrary, and the fine Names they will give to those Objects which they worship after this manner

Of the first Commandment of the Law.

THE foregoing Doctrine is taught us by the first Commandment of the Law; *Thou shalt have none other God, or Gods before, or upon my Face.* Two things should here be taken notice of 1. That

That tho' there is no other God but one, and that an Idol is nothing in World ; yet whatsoever Men set up as an Object of religious Worship, is termed God in holy Scripture, because it is substituted and placed in the room of the true and only God, who ought to be the sole Object of Religion. 2. The other is, that in this Precept God speaks to Men that own him as God, and profess to worship him: He doth not forbid they should deny him, that they should go and serve other Gods ; but he forbids particularly, they should serve any other in his Presence, or with him ; those that are guilty of the former do cast God behind their Backs, *Rom.* 14. 9. but they that commit the the latter Crime, do still pretend to stand in God's Presence ; their Sin is, that they will have other Objects of their Devotion, before, besides and with him, *Ezek.* 23, &c. The Terms of the Commandment seems to point at those who place certain Objects of their Devotion betwixt God and themselves, and as before, or upon God's

64 A T R E A T I S E

Face, to cover the dreadful Majesty thereof, that they may approach it with less Fear. It may be said here, that as under the Law the Face of God was the Ark towards which they worship'd, was the only Symbole of God's Presence, and as a Means to draw near unto him: and that as under the Law God would not that his People should have any other Object of their Devotion, but Himself, who spake to them out of the Ark, nor contrive any other Way of drawing nigh to him, nor fancy any other Token of his Presence with them: So under the Gospel he will have no Christians to acknowledge none other Object of their religious Services, than the God who manifested himself in *Jesus Christ*, the only Mediator betwixt God and Men, nor seek after any other Means of obtaining his Grace and Favours, than the same *Jesus Christ*. Disobedience to this Law, is the Error which *St. Paul* prophesied should prove the great Unhappiness of the Christian Church, when he saith, *That some shall fall away from the Faith, giving up themselves to seducing Spirits and Doctrines of Demons.* Of

Of the Words Dæmon and Devil, and of the remarkable Difference betwixt those two Names; and of Sepulchres and Relicks.

WH^Y is it say'd that the Name of *Dæmon* is less fearful than that of *Devil*, seeing that Mr. *Daille* observes, that it is always used to signify an evil Thing in the Translation of the *Septuagints*; and that in the Book of the *Acts* it is used otherwise but in one Place, and that with respect to the wrong Judgment which the Heathen made of it? To this will be answer'd, that the Word *Dæmon* hath always formed in the Mind of Christians the Idea of an Evil Thing, as representing to them either the Object of abominable

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Idolatry;

66 A T R E A T I S E

Idolatry, or those Evil Spirits that are constantly called by this Name, as *Origen* observes, *Lib. 5. ag. Celsus*. It signifies always the one or the other of these Things in the New Testament, even *Acts 17. 18*. In the Translation of the Seventy, it is used six or seven times to the same Purpose: we have already seen two Places where it expounds a Word signifying a forbidden Worship, *Pf. 96. 5*. It shews the Signification of the Word *Elilim*, which we translate *Idols*, and *Isa. 56. 11*. to expound the Word *Gad*, which we tender the Host of Heaven; in both which Places, mention is made of false Divinities. Beside these, the Seventy likewise used the Word *Demon*, to explain the Hebrew Word *Sehhirim*, *Isa. 13. 21*. which we translate *Bugbears*, and it signifies a kind of Wild Beast or Night Bird, apt to fright Folks, and which were to shelter themselves in the Ruins of *Babylon*, after it was destroy'd; and *Isa. 34. 14*. to expound the Word *Tsijim*, which signifies the Wild Beasts which were to repair to the Ruins of *Bosra*. The
 most

most constant Use of the Word *Demon*, hath been to represent those Animals of a Middle Nature, betwixt God and Man, which we call *Anels*, and were so named by the Heathen themselves in *Asclepio*. Christians have called Evil Angels *Demons*, and to the good they have given the Name of *Angels* only. Those among the Heathen, who acknowledged Evil *Demons*, called themselves *Cacodaimonas*, and mischievous Angels; but with them the Name of *Demon* was constantly an honourable Name, which they gave to the Noblest Objects of their religious Worship: whensoever the Scripture makes use of it to express an *Object* of Religion, it always intimates a false Object, and Christians look upon it with Abhorrence; but the Heathen notwithstanding, have taken this Name, in their Sense, for the Name of a Thing worthy of their Veneration, so that when in Scripture it signifies an Object of Adoration, it is taken in *bonum partem*, for a Venerable Name, with respect to the Judgment that the Heathen

made of it; but it sounds ill in the Ears of Christians. It is not only *Acts* 17. that it is used to signify a good Thing, but also *1 Cor.* 10. and it cannot be taken in another, *Rev.* 9. 20. according to the Notion of the Worshippers there spoken of, tho' we translate it by the Word *Devils*, according to our Notion. I say therefore, that the Word *Demon* doth represent to Christians none but odious Objects; yet it could not, at least in *St. Paul's* Time, inspire so great an Horror as that of *Devils*; for, observe in the first Place, that in the Greek Tongue, then spoken every where, and understood by every Body, the Word *Demon* signifies *Learned*, whereas *Devil* signifies a *false Accuser*. Secondly, none ever imagined that the Word *Devil* signified any thing that was good: but the Name *Demon* was esteem'd by most as very Venerable; in a constant Conversation among Men; and using, as they do, some Words which they dislike not, lessens very much the Aversion we might otherwise have for them, tho' at this time we do not

distinguish them, and we look upon the Names of *Devils* and *Demons* to be *Synonymous*, tho' the one comes out easier than the other: we observe likewise in reading the Holy Scripture, that the Word *Devil* is always without any Title or Adjunct, which can intimate any difference between the Things to which this Name is given; but the Name *Dæmon* is sometimes used with Distinction, which implies that this Name may be given as well to good as to Evil Things, as *Luke* 4. 33. The Spirit of an unclean *Dæmon*, or as it is in some Copies, An impure *Dæmon*.

Two notable Differences there are betwixt these two, first that the Holy Scripture applies the Word *Dæmon* both in the Singular and in the Plural Number, to the same Things: But tho' the Word *Devils* is three times used in the Plural Number, to signify such Persons as are given to slandering, yet never but in the Singular to signify the Evil Spirit: This shews that the Scripture will not confound these two Names

70 A TREATISE

as we do, and the Things which are represented by them. The first Place where we meet with the Word *διαβολος*, *Devil*, according to the *Septuagint's* Translation, is in the beginning of the Book of *Job*, where we find it twelve times in two Chapters, and always to expound the Word *Satan*, which is the Name of that wicked Spirit that slander'd *Job*, and would destroy him. The first place in the New Testament is in *St. Matthew*, when he tempted our *Saviour*; *St. Luke* calls the Tempter the *Devil*; and *St. Mark* names him *Satan*; which clearly shews that he who tempted *Christ*, is the same that accused *Job*. The same doubtless who desired to sift the Apostles as Wheat, who inspir'd *Judas* to be a Traitor, that filled *Ananias* and *Sapphirah's* Heart, this is the great *Dragon*, the old *Serpent*, called the *Devil*; and *Satan* the Accuser of the *Brethren*, the same that seduced *Eve*: the same *Satan* in *Hebrew*, and *Devil* according to the *Seventy*, who withstood the High-Priest *Jehshuah*, and who is represented contending for the Body
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of *Moses*, *Jude*. 9. from whose Power Men are delivered by the Preaching of the *Gospel*; in one Word, who had the Empire of Death, and whom *Christ* hath overcome by his Death. This Word *δαιμονος* is not found in the *Greek Heathenish* Authors to signify a *Spirit*, or any other particular Thing: And I do not think that the Heathen knew this great Accuser, Adversary, and general Enemy of Mankind, which we call the *Devil*: They that believ'd wicked *Demons*, never gave them this Name, neither was it given to that evil God, the Author of all Evil, whom some, tho' but few, did affirm to stand in opposition to the Almighty and good God, but whom they never look'd upon as an *envious, jealous Spirit*, to accuse Men before God, and endeavouring by all manner of Ways and Means to destroy them. We have no Knowledge of this *Spirit* called the *Devil*, and *Satan*, but by the Revelation of God's Word: it should be observ'd therefore, that the Holy-Scripture speaking of *Demons*, that were the Object of the Heathenish

Worship,

Worship, names them often in the Plural Number, according to the Notions of those Idolatrous Nations, but never of the *Devil*, or *Satan*, the true Cause of Man's Fall; but as of one to whom is attributed the Seduction of the World, and of the Nations, the Original of Mens Inclinations to do Evil, and opposing God's Grace and Man's Happiness.

The second Difference to be taken notice of is, that the Scripture never gives the Name of *Demon* to any living Man, but that of *Devil*, and *Satan* to several, as to *Hadad*, 1 *Kings* 1. 14. to *Rezon*, Ver. 23. 25. to *St. Peter*, *Matt.* 16. 23. in the same Sense that *David* called *Abiscai* by the same Name. 2 *Sam.* 19. 22. these Men are called *Satan*, the Name of the most fearful and cruel Enemy and Adversary of Mankind to express the greatness of the Injury they offered by their Oppositions and Contradictions. In *St. John* 6. 70. it is said of *Judas*, that he was a *Devil*,
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in the same Sense that this Name is given to *Hammon* by the *Septuagint*, *Hest.* 17. 4. and *chap.* 3. *ver.* 1. where we find the *Hebrew* Word *Isar*, which signifies a violent Oppressor: the Reason of this is, that the *Devil* or *Satan* is a real and true Being, and most wicked of all Creatures; and the Holy Scripture will have us to understand that all those are like him to whom it gives this Name; whereas the *Demons*, honour'd by the Heathen, have no real Existence, and the Holy Ghost would not give the Names of Things that have no Being but in Imagination, to those Persons whose real Qualities were to be declar'd and set forth.

I conceive, that it will be objected, that the *Demons* of the Heathen were real Things, since what was worshiped under that Name, were the Souls of dead Men, and that some did also understand by the same Name, them that we call *Agels*. To this I answer that both Angels and the Souls of dead Men, are indeed real in themselves, but

74 A T R E A T I S E

as to that Mediation, the Knowledge of Human Affairs; the Power of commanding, of defending, of communicating good things &c. and above all, that adorable *Divinity* attributed to them by their Worshippers, they were nothing in truth. *St. Paul* saith it expressly, *1. Cor. 8. 4.* and *Chap. 10. 19.* I know that he speaks there of Idols, that is, of Images consecrated in the Heathens *Temples*, for this is the Meaning of the Word *Idol*, even in *Apuleius* in *Asclepieo*. But the *Apostle* doth not consider those Images in themselves, that either in their Matter or Form, for that was something, but with respect to what they were in the Imagination of *Idolaters*, who believed that they represented so many *Divinities*; that they were not simple Statues, but Images full of *Spirit*, that wrought Wonders, and knew Things to come, did foretell them by Dreams or otherwise, and caused Diseases to fall upon Men, and cured them afterwards: Holy Images, into which Men having found the Art of making Gods, did introduce
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the *Souls* of *Demons*, or *Angels*: in one Word *Idols*, *Idola*, which alone had the Power of doing Good or Evil. And do you not find here all that is said now of the Images of *Lauretta*, and several other Places. With respect to this, *St. Paul* saith, that *the Idol is nothing in the World*; because that what they would have it to be, is no more than the Vertue ascribed to it; that there is no God; but One and what the *Gentiles* did offer, they offered it to *Demons*, not to God; and *Demons* where nothing but imaginary Divinities.

We gather from both these Differences, that tho' the Heathenish Opinion concerning *Demons*, and that which was to be in vogue among Christians conformably thereunto, had the *Devil* for their Author; yet in that Place *St. Paul's* Meaning is not that they were Doctrines of *Satan*, or of the *Devil*, of whom he makes no mention, nor Doctrines inspired by *Devils*: there being but one only *Devil*, whom the *Apostle*

76 A T R E A T I S E

would have named in the Singular Number, since he is never spoken of otherwise in the whole Bible; nor yet Doctrines suggested by *Dæmons*, which were nothing: But that they were Opinions which Men would hold concerning the Worship of Dead Men, answerable to them which the Heathen had conceived of their *Dæmons*. Many Christians, saith *Vives* upon chap. 27. of lib. 8. *St. Aust. De Civit. D.* “ Do Evil
 “ in a thing that should be Good; they
 “ Honour the Saints, both Men and
 “ Women, after the same manner that
 “ they serve God: and I perceive not
 “ what may be the Difference in many
 “ things betwixt the Opinion they have
 “ of the Saints, and what the *Gen-*
 “ *tiles* thought of their Gods.

As touching the Offices attributed to *Dæmons*, I will tell you that they are set forth by *Plato*, *Apuleius*, *Plutarch* and *Celsus*, in the forenamed Places, and that all these Authors do add here to the Testimonies of *Hesiodus* in his Poem, whose Title is, *Of the Works of Days.*

Days. *Plato*, in *lib. Legum* 11. ascribes to *Vulcan* and *Pallas*, the Protection of the Workmen who labour'd in Things pertaining to Life; to *Mars* and *Pallas* that of Smiths, who made offensive and defensive Weapons, and says that one God is over one thing, and another over another thing. See *Arnobius*, *lib. 3. Vossius de Idol. Gentium*, *lib. 1. c. 7.* The Veneration of *Sepulchres* and *Relicks* is allow'd in the Heathenish Authors; you will find it particularly in *lib. 5. of Plato's Resp.* and in *Cicer. lib. 2. Legum.* You may read upon this Subject the sixth Book of *Arnobius.*



That



That there is but one Devil, or Satan; and of the Angels spoken of, Rev. ix. II. xii. 7. 2 Cor. xii. 7. Jud. v. 6. 2 Pet. ii. 4.

T*hat there is but one Devil,* seems to be both a bold and false Assertion, since Scripture speaks of several Angels that sinned in the beginning, and of Angels of *Satan*; yet the Scripture that tells us that there is a *Devil*, or *Satan*, never speaks but of one only, to whom it ascribes the Seduction of Man, and all the Malignity tending to his Destruction. I know that the contrary Opinion is the most common among

mong Christians, and I do not look upon it as dangerous to condemn them that hold it; but I say, that it doth not seem to have any Foundation in God's Word; and I believe, they have it from some other Place.

We have seen that among the Heathen some believed that there were wicked *Demons*, whom they called *Cadæmons*, and mischievous *Angels*: the same Opinion was among the *Jews*, after they were divided into several Sects. The *Sadduces* believed neither Resurrection, nor Angels, nor Spirits: But the *Pharisees*, who had better Credit with the People, and who did all that they could, to destroy the *Sadduces*, did omit nothing to establish the Opinion of Spirits; they follow'd the Notions of the Heathen concerning *Demons*, and called *Demon* and *Spirit*, every thing that disturbed Men in any extraordinary Manner: The same Notion is crept in also among Christians; and it is commonly believed, that *Satan* was an *Angel of Light*, the chief and head of many others,

others, whom he drew with him into the same Rebellion, and doth still act against Man by his Order. But where is it said in Scripture, *that Satan was an Angel, that he was the head of Angels, and his Troop follow'd him in his Rebellion?* It may be they will quote that Place, *Rev. 9. 11.* where *St. John* speaks of the *Angel of the Bottomless Pit*. But besides that, this Book contains Prophecies, on which no certain Principle can be grounded. *St. John* sufficiently discovers in the first Chapters, that by the Word *Angels* he understandeth *Men sent*; and according to his Interpretation, I believe that this *Angel of the Abyss*, called in Hebrew *Abbadon*, and in Greek *Appollyon*, is a Man whom God hath sent in his Anger to confound and destroy Men. If we consider well the *Locusts*, whereof this *Angel of the Abyss* is the King, we shall perceive without much to do, that it is a Man who is the Head of Men, come from the Depth of Error and Confusion, to torment other Men after a cruel manner; and I know none with whom this

agrees

agrees better than the Head of the Fryars, and of the Inquisition. The Angels of the Dragon who fought with him against *Michael* and his Angels, *Rev.* 12. 7. are also Men; the Ministers of *Satan* that seduce and torment the World, they fight against *Jesus Christ* the Head of the Church, and against his Ministers, and the eternal Fire is prepared for them, as well as for him that sent them, *Mat.* 25. 4. That Angel of *Satan* who troubled *St. Paul*, was a false Teacher, an Apostate that stuck close to him, to keep him from rest; I believe it was *Alexander the Copper-smith*, who had done him much Evil, *1 Tim.* 1. 20.

It will be alledged further, that *St. Jude ver.* 6. speaks of those Angels who kept not their Estate, as we render it: But you cannot find there that Multitude of Spirits commanded by *Satan*, and Partakers of his Rebellion; nothing but Prejudice can there find *Angels*, who never were *Angels*. The Holy Ghost, who never gives but fit and proper Names, doth never call *Angels*, but such as were sent upon some Errand or other.

82 A T R E A T I S E

The Spirits supposed to have follow'd Satan in his Revolt from the beginning of the World, had not yet been sent of God ; and if St. *Jude* meant it of them, he represents them bound with Chains from that time, so that they could not never since be either Angels or Messengers. If you read the Apostle's Discourse without Prevention, you will find that the common Explication doth not allow him a very exact Way of Reasoning ; his Design is to perswade Christians to maintain constantly the Good Fight of Faith, and not suffer themselves to be carried away by the Examples of those, who turning the Grace of God, into Wantonness, have renounced the only Lord Jesus Christ our God and Saviour ; and his Argument to this Purpose is the Fear of God's Judgments, whereof he mentions here three notable Examples.

1. That of the Children of *Israel*, who after their Deliverance from *Egypt* believ'd not, and were destroy'd ; this was known by the History. 2. The History of the Rebellion that appear'd after

after the Return of them that were sent to spy the Land of *Canan*. 3. Here is set down for a third Example, *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, whereof likewise the History was well known, and often spoken of by the Prophets: for the second is reckoned the Punishment of those Angels that rebell'd with Satan in the beginning of the World, and who are reserved under Darkness, in Bonds, of which no mention is made in any Part of the Scriptures; and that Example, till then unknown, was no strong Argument, to stir up the Spirits, neither could it be conveniently joined with the rest. Let no Body alledge here Tradition, or some Book that is lost; for besides that, what depends upon Tradition, and may be said of the last Books, is very uncertain; it is unlikely that *St. Jude* would have placed betwixt two Examples, so well known by the holy History, another Example, whereof no mention at all is made in the sacred Oracles committed to the *Jews*, and faithfully preserved by them. Let me ask here,

What obliged Interpreters to translate the Word *ἀρχὴν*, by this first *Estate*, or Original? except it was the Desire of finding here, that Fall of many Angels or Spirits, which is found no where else, and whereof Men are so easily perswaded, I know not how nor wherefore. The *Vulgate* translates *Principalities*, which doth not agree very well with a Troop of Spirits under the command of a Head. If you mark well the Context, and the Terms which the Apostle makes use of, you will easily discover here the Men sent to view the Land of *Canan*, *Numb.* 13. 3. who were the Chief of every Tribe, and heads of the Children, *ἄρχοντες*, and who did not observe on that Occasion, what was becoming that Rank and Dignity they were in among their People; therefore they lost it with their Lives, *Numb.* 14. 37. St. *Jude* charges them with a double Crime, That they upheld, or maintained not their Dignity, that is they shew'd not that Courage and Resolution which became the Heads

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of

of

of the People, and then to have left (*Ἀπολίπονται τὸ ἴδιον ἰσχυρίων*), their Habitation, or the Country that belonged to them ; that is they renounced it, they gave over the Design of entering into it : This marks exactly the Persons I am speaking of.

These may also be discover'd in *2 Peter 2. 4.* there it is said, That God spar'd not the Angels that sinned ; for these Words, *that sinned*, do directly point at those of *St. Paul. Heb. 3. 17.* *Who sinned, and whose Carcasses fell in the Wilderness, and to whom the Lord swore, that they should not enter into his Rest.* These are the very Men who rebell'd, when they were upon the Point of entering into that Land which had been spied out for them immediately before. It is true, that what *St. Peter* saith may be applied to all those, who being sent by God, do rebel against his Commandment ; but there is not in the Scripture any Example so remarkable of a Rebellion of Men sent of God, as of these that
were

were sent to spy the Land of *Canan*. This Rebellion did highly provoke God, since he punished it with the greatest Severity.

You will ask perhaps, Whether Men sent by Men may be called *Angels*? which Title seems to belong only to God's Messengers. I answer, that those who were sent to spy the Land, were sent by God, since they were sent by his Orders, who had marked their very Persons, *Numb. 13. 3.* I must add, that besides the frequent Use of this Word *Angel* in profane Authors, there is nothing more usual in the Greek Translation of the old Testament than this Word, to signify *Messengers sent by Men*. Thus were they call'd, whom *Jacob* sent to his Brother *Esau*, *Gen. 32. 3.* So were they, whom *Moses* sent to the King of *Edom*, *Numb. 20. 4.* Those of *Joshua* in the Tent of *Acham*, *Josb. 7. 2.* Those of *Gideon* to *Ephriam*, *Judges 7. 24.* This Expression is not unknown to the New Testament; you meet with it,

it,

it, *Acts* 12. 15. *Jam.* 2. 25. where the two Men sent by *Joshua* to spy *Jerico*, are called *Angels*. After this you will not think it strange that both *St. Peter* and *St. Jude* should give the same Names to those whom *Moses* sent to view the Land of *Canaan*.



Of

*Of the Dæmons or Spirits
which our Saviour cast
out; and of the Spirits
of Python.*

IT is a notable Question how those Spirits may be called which possessed Men in the Days of Christ's Flesh, and the Spirit of *Python*: These should by no means be called Devils, since the holy Scripture doth not call them so, and that it speaks but of one Devil. But we may call that which tormented Men at that Time, *Dæmons* or *Spirits*, because the Scripture doth often give them those Names. I know that some will say, that if they were *Spirits* and *Dæmons*, they must be evil *Spirits* and evil *Dæmons*, and therefore they may be called *Devils*, who attended the Service of *Satan*, as Head of the
Evil

Evil *Spirits*, and so they may be call'd *Devils*: But let it be remember'd, that I have not defined what they were, but I have told you how I might call them, according to the Scripture, which speaks Mens Language, and names Things as Men were wont to name them. God's Word doth readily call *Demons* the Objects of the Heathens Adoration, because the Nations call'd them so, tho' those Objects were but imaginary Things. The Scripture calls *Babal*, that is, *Lord and Master*, that Idol whose Worship was introduced in *Israel* in the Days of King *Ahab*, because the Worshipers of it termed it so; tho' it was nothing in the World, no more than *Demons* were: And so, because the Names of *Demons* and *Spirits* were commonly given to those Things which vexed and disturb'd Men, the Holy Scripture doth without Difficulty give them the same Names (a). There was nothing more common among the *Jews*, than to a-

(a) Lightfoot on *Matt.* 17. 15. doth prove this by several Passages of the *Rabies*.

scribe to *evil Spirits* the most troublesome Evils, especially those whereby the *Body* was tortur'd with Violence, and the *Spirit* agitated with Phrensies: "The Madmen, saith *Vives*, and the "Furious, were called *Demons* by the "Gentiles; and the Passions wherewith "we are transported, are called *Demons*, "by several *Platonicians*." I may say therefore that those *Spirits* or *Demons*, from which *Christ* delivered Men, were *Phrensy*, *Epilepsy*, *Madness*, *Lunacy*, *Melancholy*, and the like; yea, perhaps but an *extraordinary Fever*; for all these were *Demons* and *Divinities* among the *Heathen* (b). They were not such in Truth; but, as I have noted, the Scripture speaks with the *Vulgar*, and doth not name Things otherwise than they were wont to be named: But if we take Notice of several Things to which the Scripture giveth the Name of *Spirit*, it will appear, that they were only the *Humours* and *Affections* whereby Men are proved

(a) Lib. 8. de Civit. Dei. c. 14. lib. 9. c. 11.

to be of such Temper and (a) Disposition. That other Spirit which guided *Caleb*, *Numb.* 14. 24. was nothing else but his *Faith* and *Courage* opposed to the *Incredulity* and *Cowardliness* of his Companions. That Spirit which made *Sennacherib* to return into his Country, was the Fear that seiz'd on him at the Sight of the dead Bodies that were slain in his Camp by the Angel. That *new Heart* and *new Spirit* that God commanded his People should have, *Ezek.* 8. 31. are certainly *new Sentiments* and *new Affections*. The *Spirit of Fornication*, spoken of by the Prophet, *Hosea* 4. 12. is the *Passion* of that *Vice*. When our *Saviour* told the two Sons of *Zebedee*, *Luke* 9. 55. *Ye know not what Spirit they are of*; it was to let them understand that they knew not the *Nature of that Affection*, which made them speak as they did. That *Spirit of Slumber* spoken of *Isaiah* 29. 10. and *Rom.* 11. 8. is nothing else but that natural *Stupidity* to which God abandoneth Men,

(b) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 3. Arnobius lib. 8. Vossius de Idol. gent. l. 2. c. 19. lib. 8. c. 5, 6. Natal. Comes lib. 4. c. 47.

In whom he will not shew the Power of his Grace. The *Spirit of Meekness*, 1 Cor. 4. 21. and the *Meekness of Spirit* are one and the same Thing. To *walk by the same Spirit*, 2 Cor. ch. 12. v. 8. is to act according to the Suggestions of the same Affection. What our Saviour saith, *Matt. 12. 43. of the unclean Spirit, who being gone out of his House, and finding it swept and garnished, doth return with seven other Spirits worse than himself,* is a Parable occasion'd by the ordinary Way of Discourse among the People, and which can by no Means be understood of that sort of *Spirits* in question; but is easily understood, without Violence offer'd to the Words of *Vice*, from which a Man guilty before hath abstain'd for a Time, *but without the true Application of himself to Virtue*; so that the Affection of that Vice returning, holdeth the Place with greater Power and Empire than before; and proves them accompany'd with many others that will not fail to follow. St. Peter hath written a *Commentary* upon this Parable, 2 Pet. 2. 20. "That if
 " after having escaped the Pollutions of
 " the

“ the World, through the Knowledge
 “ of the Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, if
 “ they be again intangled and overcome,
 “ the last State of such is worse than
 “ the first.” For what is said, saith the
Jesuit Maldonat, that he goeth and taketh to
himself seven other Spirits worse than him-
self; that signifies nothing else than this,
 That if the honest Men do lose their Ho-
 nesty, by despising the Divine Grace, they
 commonly become the worst of Men;
 as if instead of one unclean Spirit that
 was in them before, seven more were
 come in.

All this being well consider'd, none
 will think it a strange Thing that Dis-
 eases and corporal Affections, such as I
 noted before, be called after the common
 Notion *Demons* and *Spirits*, yea unclean
 Spirits, evil and wicked Spirits, no more
 than to see the Name of wicked Spirit
 given to Jealousy, *Numb.* 5. 14. To Infi-
 delity, *Judg.* 9. 23. To Fury, which tor-
 mented *Saul* from Time to Time, and
 which was quieted by the Sound of Mu-
 fical

sical Instruments, *1 Sam.* 16. 14, 23. To the Distemper of the Woman that had been bound eighteen Years, *Luke* 13. 11. This Exposition is so much the more probable, that the *Demoniacks* are named among the Diseases which our Saviour cured: *They brought unto him* (saith *St. Matthew* 4. 24.) *those that were sick*, of divers Diseases and Torments, as *Demoniacks*, *Lunaticks*, and *Paraliticks*, and he cured them all. By these Cures our Saviour justified, that he was the *Messiah* promised, and of whom these Things were prophesied. Therefore *St. John the Baptist* being in Prison, and having sent to him two of his Disciples to ask him, whether he was indeed he that was come, or whether they should look for another; he cured before them several Persons of divers Diseases and Plagues, and of *evil Spirits*, and gave Light to many that were blind, *Luke* 21. 22. After this he spake thus to them, *Go, and tell John what Things ye have seen and heard; the Blind see, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleansed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are raised up, and the Poor have the Gospel*
preached

preached unto them. To this End, that *John* should make them understand, by the Conformity of what they had seen with the Prophecies, that he was truly the *Messiah* promised, *Isa.* 35. 56. and Chap. 61. ver. 1, 2. here is to be noted, and not lightly, that though the possessed with *Demons* are mention'd among them that *John's* Disciples saw cured, yet they are not named in the Prophecy that went before; which shews that they must be comprehended under the Names of the Diseases mention'd in that Prophecy, and that is but a new Name given, according to the *common Usage* of that Time, to such Distempers as the Prophets had named otherwise. For this should be carefully remember'd, that it was not the Greatness of the Miracles which proved Christ to be the *Messiah*, but chiefly because the Miracles which he did were the same that it was foretold he should do: But we do not find that it was prophecy'd that he should cast out *Demons* or *Spirits* out of Mens Bodies, but that he should cure all Manner of Diseases; which makes

makes it plain, that these *Demons* or *Spirits*, from which he deliver'd Men, were Diseases : And indeed *Lunacy*, or *Epilepsy*, whose Fits do follow the Course of the Moon ; and such as tormented the Child, *Matt. 17. 15.* are natural Distempers, and yet it is said, that when Christ cur'd him, he rebuked the *Demon* which went out, and he was healed, ver. 18. and was not the *Demon* and the Sickness the same Thing? and it is said, that he rebuked the *Demon* in the same Sense that he rebuked the Fever that afflicted St. Peter's Mother-in-law, *Luke 4. 30.* We find in other Places, that they were amazed to see how he commanded with Authority and Power the unclean *Spirits*, and they went forth ; that is in the same Sense, that after having said rebuked the Wind and the Sea, *be thou still*, they said one to another, *Who is that? even the Wind and the Sea do obey him.*

Those Distempers, that were called *Demons* and *Spirits*, were such as distracted Mens Minds, and obstructed their Senses, and by Consequence discover'd

cover'd another Spirit, than that they had, or should have, or a quite contrary Disposition. As I know at this Time a Gentleman very exemplary for his Piety, Modesty, and an unblameable Behaviour with all Men; yet in the Fits of a Distemper which has seiz'd upon him but since three or four Years, among other Extravagancies, he seldom utters one Word but you would think that the unclean Spirits of the World have all taken Possession of this Man. Therefore the Jews expressed that Extravagancy wherewith they charged our blessed Saviour, and were not contented to say that he was out of his Senses, but that he was, or were possess'd with a *Demon*, *Joh. 12. 20.* and thus they explain themselves afterwards, saying that he was besides himself. *διαπορευόμενος ἑξ ἑαυτοῦ πάλιν.* In this Sence the *Diemoniack*, *Mark 5. 1.* and *Luke 8. 28.* agitated with so many Extravagancies, might well answer, that their Name was *Legion*, since the Variety of their foolish Actions made them believe that they were possessed with several *Demons*. *St. Matthew* gives this Man a Companion, and saith that they were two that met

98 A T R E A T I S E

our SAVIOUR, *Matthew 8. 28.* and that he or they could not be bound: this is natural, when a strong Man is transported with Fury; he went naked, and dwelt in no House; but when he had broken his Bonds, saith St. Luke, he was carried by the *Demon* into the Wilderness, that is, by his Folly and Madness; since he must first be loosed of his Bonds before he could be carried. He was continually, *Night and Day, in the Mountains, and in the Tombs,* (a furious Fellow,) so that none durst pass that way: he cryed, and cut himself with Stones; enough to shew that he was in Tormenting Pains, for that's the Meaning of the Word *Δαίμονιδεῖς*, or that he had *Demons*, as St. Luke saith, or many *Evil Spirits*, according to the Peoples Notion; yea, according to the Stile of the Scripture, as I have noted. But with this difference, that by *Spirits*, the Scripture understandeth nothing else but the several Affections and Dispositions of the Soul, whether good or bad; whereas the Heathen did believe, that *Virtue and Vice*, yea and *Sickness* too, were foreign *Spirits* which disturbed the Spi-

Spirits of Men, and they look'd upon them as Divinities; for as *Cicero* witnesseth, *De Nat. deorum. lib. 3.* there were none but *Tertian* and *Quartan* Agues, that were not Honoured as Gods.

Gulielmus Adar (a) a learned Physician, (*Ennar. 5.*) hath observed, that all the Symptoms of Madness mark'd by the *Evangelists*, were exactly the same with them of the *Lycantrophia*, which makes a Man think himself possess'd with a Devil, or turned into something that he is not. Among the Heathen some thought themselves possess'd with *Dæmons*, and this Man fancied that he had many. He was in the Country of the *Gergescenes*, saith *St. Matthew*, or *Gadarenes*, saith *St. Mark*, and *St. Luke* hath *Gadara*, and the *Gergescenes* being upon the same Coast, not far the one from the

(a) *Gulielmus Ader. 9.* Dofignamus ergo Gerafenos istos abreptitios vulgari mania melancolica affici, quam Græci medici *Lycanthropiam*, *Lupinam*, *Insaniam* vocitant: Galli *Lougs Garous*. Non erit absonum, aut a Divinis litteris, & evangelistarum mente alienum si eas etiam a morbifica causa laborasse, morbo intelligamus. Morbo equidem, qui ægrorum temperamento & loco, & tempori ita consentiet, ut negari non possit iis intellectis quæ ægrotos scriptura narrat.

other. There were *Jews* in those Parts, since our *Saviour* went thither, who was not sent but to the last House of *Israel*; but there was some Heathen also, since they had Herds of Swine, which had been a Crime in the *Jews*, as *Lightfoot* proves at large (a). This *Lycantrophe* then might be either an *Heathen* or a *Jew*, he had those Heathenish Notions of *Demons* and *Evil Spirits*. I have already observ'd, that these Opinions did pass from the *Heathen* to the *Jews*, and might be common in a place most inhabited by Heathens. It was also an Opinion commonly receiv'd and grounded upon their Oracles (b), and on the Authority of some Philosophers, (c) That the *Demons* were subject to the Chastisements of the great Gods; which Chastisement, in all likelihood, was to be at the end of the World: And this the Heathen were not Ignorant of, which made *David* to sing, *That the Lord is great and terrible to the Gods*; for his

(a) *Lightfoot* in *Mat.* 19. 3.

(b) *Idem.* *Decad.* chor. ante *Marc.* c. 7. §. 3.

(c) *Lactan.* 1. 1. relates those Oracles, and *Plutarch* in *Isis*, &c. quotes thereupon the Testimony of *Empedocles.* *Lucret.* lib. 5. *Ovid.* *Metam.* lib. 1. *Luc.* *Phars.* lib. 1. *Sen.* *Philos.* Ep. 17.

of Spirits. IOI

Meaning is that the Lord, who is the supreme God, whose Chastisements the *Demons* (who are the Gods of People) are afraid of, *Pf. 96. The Lord is dreadful above all Gods of the (a) Nations, as Elilim, vain Things.* The Seventy have translated it *Demons*, in *Pf. 6. 9.* and *Idols, 1 Chron. 16. 25.* But when he saith that *Demons do believe and tremble,* he speaks to the Heathen converted to the Truth of One only God; and yet fancied that to be saved, it was not necessary to renounce their vicious Affections, provided they worshipped but one only God. The Apostle tells them, That this was not sufficient to make them Happy, because that according to the Pagan Doctrine, which they had lately parted with; and *David* did take Notice of the *Demons* Worshipped by them, who believed and confessed by their Oracles, that there is but One sovereign God, which, notwithstanding, doth not make them Happy, since

(a) 1 Chron. 16. 25. *Psal. 96. 4, 5. Jam. 2. 9.*

that according to the same Opinion, the Dæmons do tremble, knowing themselves to be subject to the Correction of this Supreme God. This Place of *St. James* doth certainly allude to that of *David*, who never meant that the Dæmons were a real Thing, but that they were something in others Opinion. This furious Man, now in question, being possess'd with this Notion, thought he must not speak, but in the Persons of those *Dæmons*, which he fancy'd to be in him; and having heard that *Jesus* was the Son of God, and that he did cast *Dæmons* out of Mens Bodies, doth look upon him with Fear, as the Son of God come to punish him; wherefore he prays him not to punish him before the Time; that is, before the End of the World, or before the Time appointed for the general Punishment of *Dæmons*.

Some Difficulties may be thought to be in this; as, 1. That it may be ask'd, How these *Dæmons* knew, that *Jesus* was the Son of God? We may answer, that they

they knew it by the common Report, which taught it the blind Man in the Way, *Matt. 9. 27.* It may be objected, in the second Place, that the *Demons* themselves did cry out, that *Jesus was the Christ the Son of God*, and that our Saviour forbade them to publish it: But I say, that the *Demons* are named for the afflicted Persons; for *St. Mark* tells us, *Chap. 3. 11, 12.* that when the unclean Spirits saw him, they fell down and cry'd; for it was not the Spirits, but the Men tormented with them, did see, and cried, and fell down. If *Christ* forbade those Men to tell who he was, it is because he would not have it publickly known as yet; by the same Reason that he commanded the Leprous that he had cleansed, the blind Man he had made to see, yea, his very Disciples, *viz. St. Mark* hath it, *Chap. 3. ver. 12.* That they should not make it known.

But the great Difficulty lies in this, that the *Demoniack* called himself *Legion*, and pray'd, that they might enter into the Herd of Swine, which being granted,

ed, the Hogs cast themselves headlong into the Sea; all which cannot be supposed to be the mere Effect of a bodily Disease, or of a distemper'd Mind. Yet whatsoever the Difficulty may be, it cannot oblige us to acknowledge several evil Spirits that come from without to torment Men's Bodies; or to say with *Josephus, lib. 7. Belli Jud. c. 15.* That these vexatious Spirits were the Souls of wicked Men that died unconverted: A Notion which *Justin Martyr* liked so well, that he made it an Argument of Subsistence of the Soul after Death, *Apol. 2.* And truly were we to find a Troop of Spiritual Guards for *Satan*, and incorporeal Angels, I would not seek further than the Damned Souls, who hate God and every Thing that is acceptable to him: But my Opinion is, that the Departed Souls of wicked Men, are all like the rebellious Messengers spoken of by *St. Jude, reserved under Darkness in Chains*; or, as *St. Peter* hath it, *sunk with Chains of Obscurity and kept in Prison, until the Judgment of the great Day, 2 Pet. 2. 4.* and so they can do no Harm to any Man living; for certain it is, that
those

those spoken of both by *St. Peter* and *St. Jude*, are in no Condition to hurt any Body whatsoever, be they mere Spirits or departed Souls; and so whatsoever is thus ascribed to Spirits or Departed Souls, is pure Imagination. I affirm therefore, that the Torments from which our Saviour deliver'd Men, were the Effects of bodily Diseases, or Distractions of Spirit, and wherein the Devil acts none otherwise than he did in those grievous Distempers wherewith *Job* was afflicted. This further appears by what our Saviour saith, *Luke 13. 16.* concerning the Woman that had the Spirit of Infirmary, which kept her bow'd down eighteen Years. It was doubtless a bodily Distemper, proceeding from natural Causes; for our Saviour in curing her said no more than this, *Thou art loosed from thine Infirmary*; yet he saith likewise, *that Satan had kept her bound eighteen Years*: So that if any evil Spirit had a Hand in these, it was but one, *viz. Satan* or the Devil: Wherefore the Saviour of the World tells them, *That if he did cast out Demons by Beelzebub the*

Prince of Demons, then *Satan* did cast out himself; supposing that there was but one *Satan* that might be the Cause of all those Distempers called *Demons*, which could not be cured by the Authority or Power of *Satan*; or else *Satan* must cast out himself, or be divided against himself: And if the Devil was the Tormenter of this *Demoniack*, he might also ask Leave to drown the Swine: One *Devil* might as well drive one whole Herd of Swine, as one *Spirit* could be a lying Spirit in the Mouth of four hundred of *Ahab's* Prophets, 1 *Kings* 22. 6—22. But the Truth is, that this poor Man was troubled with a sore Distemper; and the Hogs, by God's Providence, might be struck with the same, or with some other, more natural and peculiar to them: And it is no more incredible that the Distemper of this Madman should pass into the Hogs, than that *Naaman's* Leprosy did stick to *Gebazi*.

But this Story of the Gospel is too remarkable to be dismiss'd without farther

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ther Reflection. And if any Body hath the Curiosity of seeing lively Examples of the same sort of Madness, let him but repair to *Bethlehem*, or let him enquire of the Governors of that Hospital, who is well satisfy'd that there is none there possessed with a Devil; and yet many are strong enough to break Chains, or other Bonds; so that if they had not been shut up in good Time, they had been seen running in the Streets, cutting themselves, and the like, to the Shame and Disappointment of them that undertook the taming of them; and notwithstanding all the Care taken, some will break Prison, and make good what is said of many mad and loose Fellows, *That they look like one broken loose out of Bethlehem*: and it is very probable, that among the *Gadarenes* they had not such good Orders kept, but some were left to themselves, and no Pains taken there either to stop, or shut them up.

2. As *St. Mark* is most exact in relating this Case, let us take notice of his Words concerning this Madman;

and our blessed SAVIOUR tells us, that *seeing Jesus Christ afar off, he ran and Worshipped him*; that in the Greek Dialect, and he fell down before him to the Ground, as a Token of great Humility, a thing common enough to that sort of People, when they meet with great or learned Men, or Men in Authority. That if our Saviour said immediately, *Thou unclean Spirit get out of this Man*; it was an Act of his Wisdom to give into the Madman's Sence, to comply with his Imagination, *viz.* to cure him; he complies with his Imagination, that there was some great Thing which troubled him, either from within, or from without, for such is the strong Prejudice of some of them, that the more you cross or contradict them, the worse they are, and prove the more incurable. It may be said also, that the Lord proceeded in this manner, to manifest his Power and Authority in commanding the unclean Spirits, and making them obedient to his Word; none otherwise than if he had said, *Thou foul Disease or unlucky Infirmary, I command thee*

to depart from this Man, and afflict him no more; or as he said to the sick of the Palsey, *Stand up and walk*, and so in this Place; Be thou healed of thine Infirmity, and deliver'd of thy tormenting Pain.

3. *What is there betwixt thee and me, Jesus, thou Son of God; Art thou come to Torment us before the Time?* This hath been sufficiently explain'd: But it should be observed that when Men have once put a thing in their Heads, as we commonly speak, they fancy that all they see or hear agreeth thereunto. The Author of the *World Bewitch'd*, tells us of a Woman of *Franeker* in the Low Countries, who believ'd herself to be irrecoverably damned, and did not speak at all, because she imagined that the damned did speak. The same must be said of the Man's Answer, *My Name is Legion, for we are many*. This Man having distracted Brains, imagined that his Head was full of *Demons*, and therefore that the Name of *Legion* was a proper Name to take upon himself. And
this

110 A T R E A T I S E

this proves, that it was the Man himself who spoke, and not the Spirits within him; for our Saviour did not ask, What are your Names; *but what is thy Name?* in the singular Number: and such was the Answer, Not our Names, *but my Name is Legion*; but it will be objected that it is said, *v. 15. Him that had the Legion*, which seems to intimate that it was not a simple Imagination, but a Reality: yet this is no necessary Consequence. They that relate a Story, as the Evangelists do this, relate Things as they appear outwardly, without enquiring into the Causes: we do the same every Day, when we meet with such *Hypocondriack* Fancies, as to have such a living Thing within him as a Snake or a Wolf. When we speak afterwards of him, we say, The Man that had the Snake or the Wolf: If we tell the Story of him that thought he had no Guts, we say, The Man that had no Guts: yet he would be thought to affirm, that he was really in such a Condition.

In like manner is what is added, That the *Demons* besought the Lord that he would not send them into the *Abyss*, but permit them to go into the Herd of Swine: Now, supposing that they were the *Demons* themselves that spoke this; we must then conclude that they knew that they must go into the Deep, when they were put out of their Habitations upon the Earth, as their settled Dwelling; a thing indeed to be wondred at, that so many Thousands of Prisoners, (for a *Legion* was at least three, or six Thousand,) should be left out of *Hell* to torment one or two poor human Creatures; (and he who is the King or the Judge, that will let out a Prisoner without a sufficient Reason?) And can we conceive, that the great God the Judge of Men and Angels, would give Liberty to such vast Numbers to chastise one Man for a Time; seeing especially that one alone was sufficient to put up *St. Paul* to it, who doubtless was another sort of a Man than this *Demoniack*. So that it is evident that these were only the bare Words of this poor Sufferer, when he

112 A TREATISE

he pray'd as in the Names of several *Demons*, that they might not be oblig'd to return to Hell.

Besides all this, we cannot but say that this Request of the *Demons* did tend to something else, than simply to enter into the Hogs to escape the *Abyss* for that Time, yea that short Space of Time only; for what did they get by that? for the Hogs being drowned, what became of the *Demons*? Or did Christ grant them a longer Time than they petitioned for? for tho' God gave *Jacob*, *David* and *Solomon* much more than they requir'd, I can hardly think that he would do the Devil such Kindness. Furthermore, had they desir'd to go into the Swine only to be kept out of the *Abyss* for a Time; How is it that they so soon set fire to the Place of their Refuge, and immediately destroy'd their hospitable Hogs?

This was a Miracle of our Saviour to cure this Man with one Word, as an Evidence of his Divine Power and
Vertue

Vertue and was the Man thus cured of his *Demons*, when they were driven out of his Head and brought again to his right *Senses*? wherefore away from hence all *Devils* which are not mentioned, no more than they were seen; and let *Christ* alone have the Honour of an Action which is unjustly ascribed to *evil Spirits*.

But let us now come to the *Spirits* of *Python*, and take notice in the first place, that God commanded that they should be put to Death, *Lev. 20. 27.* So that they cannot be Men that were possess'd, who did unhappily suffer Violence against their Will, and without being guilty of any apparent Crime, since they could not prevent it; therefore these must be Criminals worthy of Death: but these were such as pretend to declare Things to come, and answer all Questions that were put to them. But in the *Hebrew*, in the 17 Places that make mention of it, and in the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, there is nothing of *Python*, nor

114 A T R E A T I S E

of a *Spirit*. The *Hebrew* Word is *Obe*, and in the Plural Number *Oboth*. I will here set down the Places where this Word is found. *Levit. 19. 31. Ye shall not turn your selves to Soothsayers and to Wizards*; the *Hebrew* is, *Ye shall not look to Obe. Levit. 20. 6. When a Soul shall have turned herself to Soothsayers*; in the *Hebrew*, *The Soul that shall look to the Ob*: And ver. 27. *When a Man or a Woman shall have a Soothsaying Spirit*; *Hebrew*, *The Man or the Woman, because there is in them, or was in them, an Ob, they shall be put to Death. Deut. 18. 11. A Man who enquireth for a Soothsaying Spirit*; *Hebr. enquiring or asking an Ob. 1 Sam. 28. 3. And Saul had put away the Soothsayers*; *Heb. Saul had put the Ob out of the Land*: And ver. 7. *Find me a Woman having a Familiar Spirit. Behold there is at Endor a Woman having a Spirit of Python*; *Heb. Seek me a Woman having an Ob. Behold at Endor a Woman Mistress of an Ob*: For the *Hebrews* called every one Lord and Master of what he possesses. And ver. 8. *Foretell unto me by the Spirit of Python*; *Heb.*

Heb. Prophecy to me by Ob. Ver. 9. He hath cut off the Wizards from the Land; Heb. He hath put out the Ob out of the Land. In 2 Kings 21. 6. He appointed Soothsayers; Heb. He made an Ob. The same in 2 Kings 23, 24. 2 Chron. 33. 6. 1 Chron. 10. 13. Because he enquir'd of the Soothsayers; Heb. Because he enquir'd by Ob. Isa. 8. 19. When they shall say unto you, enquire of the Soothsayers; Heb. Seek to the Ob. Isa. 19. 3. They ask Counsel of Idols, and Enchanters, and of the Soothsayers, and of the Necromancers; Heb. They sought to the Elilim, to the Ittim, to the Ob. Elilim were the Idols of Demons: The Word Ittim is found no where else, and seems to signify surprizing Things prepar'd at Leisure: Those having an Ob, are they that pretend to tell Fortune and what is to come, as Isa. 29. 4. Thy Voice shall be out of the Ground, as an Ob. There is only that Place, Job 32. 19. where they have found no Spirit of Python; the Hebrew hath it thus, Behold my Belly is as new Wine, not open as new Oboth that burst; and we have translated it, Behold

116 A T R E A T I S E

my Belly is as the Wind that hath no Vent, it would burst like new Leather Bottles. The Greek Translation renders the Word *Ob*, ἐγγασπιμοθός, which signifies one that speaks out of his Belly. In those fore-named Places of *Leviticus*, *Deutronomy*, *Samuel*, *Chronicles*, and *Isaiah* 8. Whereas the Hebrew hath it, 1 *Sam.* 28. 7. *A Woman Mistress of an Ob*; the Greek saith, *A Woman speaking out of her Belly*. And it appears from 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. that those *Oboth's* were neither Men nor Women; for translating the *Hebrew*, which saith, that *Manasseth made an Ob*, it expresses it thus, Ἐποίησε ἐγγασπιμοθούς, *He made Things that speak out of the Belly*; and, 2 *Kings* 21. 6. where the same is recorded; and in the same Words in the *Hebrew*; the Greek hath it ἐποίησε τεμάχια, which signifies that *Menasseth set apart some pieces of Earth, that were designed for the Use of the Ob*.

From all this we may gather, 1. That those *Obe's* were certain Machines made for the Use of *Divination*, to answer them who enquir'd after Things to come; and

and were curious to know Things hard to be understood. This appears from what is said, that there were some who had an *Ob* in their Houses, *Levit.* 20. 27. That a Woman was Mistress, or in Possession of an *Ob*, *1 Sam.* 28. 7. That *Manasseh* made an *Ob*; and lastly, from what *Elihu* saith, *Job* 32. 19. That his Belly is as a new *Ob* that burst. 2dly. It is very probable, that these Machines or Tools were Statues, out of whose Bellies came forth, or pretended to come forth, that Voice which return'd Answers, when the Masters or Mistresses of those *Obs* did set them on work, and made them speak; and which sometimes did break at the first trying of them, when they were not made of good Metal, or when their Belly was over full of Wind. This may be gathered from the Expression of the *Septuagint*, and from that of *Elihu*. 3dly, It is evident, that by the Use of the *Ob* they pretended to enquire of the Dead: This I conclude from the Story of *Saul*, *1 Sam.* 28. and *Isaiab* 19. If they

118 A T R E A T I S E

they say to you, enquire of the *Ob*, of the Inchanters, Mountebanks, or the like ; for thus I render the Word which the *Septuagint* have expressed by *these that speak out of the Earth*, that mutter, and send forth a dark and inward *Spirit*. Shall not the People enquire of their God, and go to the Dead for the Living? The Prophet teaches in this Place, that these *Obes*, and these Juglers, who set such Gins to work, causing others to hear, (or imagine, that they, as from the Machine's Belly) such Words and Answers as do satisfy the Living that enquire of the Dead. Lastly, It is indubitable that these Statues, made to receive Answers from the Dead, were fastened in the Ground : This is evident, not only because the *Septuagint* have twice translated the Word *Ob*, by *those that cause their Voice to be heard out of the Earth* ; Τῆς ἀπὸ τῆ γῆς φωνόντας κενολογούντας· οἳ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσι : as also because the same Translators, speaking of the *Ob* which *Manasseth* made, do say, *That he consecrated pieces of Earth*, *2 Kings 21. 6.* instead of saying that he
made

made an *Ob.* But this is clear, especially, out of *Isa.* 29. 4. where God saith unto *Ariel*, *Thou shalt be brought down, thou shalt speak out of the Ground; thy Speech shall proceed softly out of the Dust, and thy Voice shall be heard as out of an Ob* : But the Prophet had never spoken thus, had not the *Ob* been in the Ground, from whence it was heard to speak.

Some would conclude from this Exposition, that as such Machines were criminally invented to find out secret and forbidden Things, the Knowledge whereof God hath reserved to himself, *Deut.* 29. 29. *Satan* the Author of all Mischief, doth take that Opportunity to work his own Designs, and by such Instruments give sometimes true Answers, whereby the Owners of them obtain Credit and Power, to divert other Men from that Submission they owe to God, and that absolute Dependance they should have upon his Providence. But most certain it is, that the Devil cannot know all Things; yea, I make bold to say, that
 he

he knows very little, at least in Comparison to what the World thinks that he knows; he cannot be in several Places at once, since he is supposed to go to and fro in the World, *Job* 1. 7. But the Truth is, that in all this there is nothing of the Devil, but the Cunning of Cheats, to amuse and deceive credulous People: And the *Familiar Spirit* is a juggling, deceitful, a *Hocus-pocus Spirit*. The constant Practisers of this Art were the Heathen, who did attribute to their *Demons* whatsoever seemed extraordinary, and above their Apprehension; and were always ready and willing to abuse others, because of the Profit they got by such Practises. The Children of *Israel* were also addicted to them, notwithstanding God's Prohibitions, and they used them to please a Curiosity forbidden of God. In these Actions there was a Complication of many high Crimes, which the Law judged worthy of Death. Furthermore, since God shew'd his Anger, and inflicts Punishments upon the Guilty, even at the Time of their committing

mitting the Sin, as in the Example of *Miriam*, *Numb.* 12. 10. of *Jeroboam*, *1 Kings* 13. 1, 4. of *Belshazzar*, *Dan.* 5. 5. We may say here also, that God was pleased to declare unto *Saul* the Punishment of his Crime in speaking to an *Ob*; for this also is reckoned among the Sins for which he was rejected, and the Causes of his Death, *1 Chron.* 10. 12, 13.

“ *Saul* died in his Transgression, where-
 “ with he transgressed against the Word
 “ of the Lord which he had not kept,
 “ and also because he asked Counsel
 “ of the Mistress of an *Ob*, seeking to
 “ her, and had not sought unto the
 “ Lord; therefore he slew him, and
 “ turned the Kingdom unto *David* the
 “ Son of *Isaiab*.

But this Place of Scripture, so constantly cited to prove that which neither is, nor can be, *viz.* a Power of *Satan* to know, and do Things proper only to God, have no great Difficulty, if Men would consider it with Attention, and without Prevention; but ha-

122 A T R E A T I S E

ving first receiv'd an Opinion, they read
 Place not to be better inform'd,
 as to seek Arguments to maintain it.
 This was *Saul's* Case, being fully per-
 swaded that the Woman could raise the
 Dead, and make them declare what
 would befall the Living; he said to the
 Woman, *Foretell me by the Familiar Spirit,*
by Ob, and cause him to come up, whom
I shall name unto thee, v. 8. The King
 doubtless imagined, either that there
 was something besides God, that had
 a Power and Knowledge of Things that
 should happen, or that God would dis-
 cover it to that *Ob*. If the former be
 true, *Saul* was no great Divine, he was
 far from knowing God as he ought to
 be known: If the latter, he must have
 been out of his Senses, to imagine that
 God refusing to discover Secrets by
 such Persons, and in such Manner as
 himself had appointed *Urim* and *Thum-*
mim, and the Prophets, he would re-
 veal the same by such Instruments as
 he had so absolutely forbidden his Peo-
 ple

ple to make use of: so that *Saul's* Authority in this Case availeth but little.

But let us examine the Thing more particularly; for the Scripture doth not tell us what the Woman did, but what she saw and said: for we read, That the Woman seeing *Samuel*, cryed out, v. 12. It was not *Samuel*, as our Interpreters affirm, but an Evil Spirit in the Shape of *Samuel*: as indeed no true Christian can conceive, that the *Devil* could take up the true Body of *Samuel*, and transport it from *Rama* to *Endor*; and that by her Magical Art she raised up that *Evil Spirit*. But the Text hath not one Word to this Purpose, for it is in expresse Terms, that *Saul* desired her to raise up *Samuel*, that it was *Samuel* which the Woman saw, and that *Samuel* speak to *Saul* and frighted him. If then *Syrab* is (as he was) in the wrong to have believed that all that is said there is to be understood of *Samuel* himself; since *Moses* and the Prophets desired to be heard while they lived,

but rise not again to speak unto Men; *Luke* 16. 31. What Reason have we to believe that the *Devil*, who never was a Prophet, and never delivered to Men any Message from God, nor spake conformably to God's Word, should not appear to that Purpose, under the Form of a sanctify'd Body, reserved in the Grave of Honour to the Day of the Resurrection.

But if we have (as we cannot but have) all the Reason in the World to believe that it was not *Samuel*; why then is it that *Samuel* is named not less than five times? Is it that something appeared in the Likeness of *Samuel*, to confirm *Saul* in his Error, who seeking none but *Samuel*, was to be perswaded that *Samuel* stood before him? Why not the Woman herself, that acted the Part of *Samuel*, that spake as if it had been *Samuel*, and who said that she saw him when in deed she saw nothing: Some such thing they will Answer, because the Text saith, that the Woman saw not that

that she said, I see very well ; it is said also, as I noted before, that *Samuel* spake, and not the *Devil* in Form of *Samuel* ; and that the Woman said, I see Gods ascending out of the Earth : which was false, for no sorts of Gods abide under the Earth, no not *Demons* themselves ; none but the Dead do remain there, as *Cicero* relates it, *lib. 1. Tuscul. Quest. §. 26.* These are his Words, “ We “ believe that the Souls do out-live “ the Bodies, all Reasonings do lead to that “ Opinion ; Reason should teach us also “ where they are : And hence Igno- “ rance hath taken occasion to invent “ certain Places under the Earth for “ them : for the Bodies falling into “ the Earth and being cover’d with “ Earth, (*Humo*, whence cometh *Hu- “ mari*,) they believ’d that the Dead “ did yet live under the Earth. Howso- ever it is not said here, that *Saul* (who was not in the same Place where the Woman saw *Samuel*, as she pretended) did see any thing ; yea it is plain by the Story, that he saw nothing ; for why should

Should he ask the Woman, What sawest thou? And what is he like? The same is observed by the Translators N. 27.

“Saul, say they, knew that it was Sa-
 “muel, by the Disposition of his trou-
 “bled Senses, and the Woman’s Dis-
 “course; but himself saw not *Samuel*.”

As for the Woman’s Discourse, Was it not easy for her describe *Samuel’s* Habit, which was so well known? or to counterfeit his Voice out of her own Disposition, or the Conveniency of the Room fitted to that Purpose: or as the the *Engastrimithoi* we have spoken of, as if her Voice came from her Belly, or from under the Earth, or even as at a great Distance. The Prophecy which followeth is easily answered, as being but a Conjecture of the Woman, and it is not well known what she meant by the Words, *Thou shalt be with me to Morrow*. What, with me the true *Samuel*? that had given no Occasion for Fear, but rather of Joy to *Saul*, to go to the same Place where holy *Samuel* was. But was it with *me*, the *Devil*? That must be a Lie;

Lie; unless you will say also, that *Jonathan* the Son of *Saul*, that was killed with him, did also go to the same Place where the *Devil* was. Besides that, if you seriously consider the Distance of Places, and the many Things that happen'd betwixt the Time that *Saul* was at *Endor*, and the Hour of his Death, you will confess, as many have done, that it could not be less than five Days, if not eight, as some do conjecture. This is sufficient to justify, that all this might very well come to pass, without any Commerce with the *Devil*, and that the Actions here mentioned, have no need of the Operation of such Spirits to produce them; and all this cannot make us understand what is meant by a *Familiar Spirit*, or a Spirit of *Python*; whether a Man, or a Spirit, or not rather a cunning and subtle Contrivance of a Jugler. Whosoever would see the Meaning of the Word *to Morrow*, and that *Saul* could not have been kill'd till five Days after his Discourse with the Woman, let him read *Becker of the World Bewitch'd*,

128 A TREATISE

Bewitch'd, Tom. 2. Ch. 24. and Tom. 3. Ch. 6. And let this be added, that as many as will understand this Story in the literal Sense, must prove, that the *Hebrew Word Ob, or Obe,* signifies a *Spirit endued with the Gift of Prophecy*; and that to do it, he must appear under some Form, or in what Figure he pleaseth, at the Wish or Command of a Woman.





*Of the Word SPIRIT ;
of seducing Spirits ;
and of those Words, ju-
stify'd in the Spirit ;
and of the Angels that
shall be judged by the
Faithful.*

WHAT I have said of seducing
Spirits, is not approved by e-
very Body, because the Sence in which
I take the Words, seems to be new : And
yet it is not so new as many do think.
Hear what *Beza* saith, "By the Word *Spi-*
" *rit* we may understand *Demons* them-
" selves, or false Prophets, of their Doc-
" trine." I have pitched on the last,
according to the Liberty given me, and

130 A T R E A T I S E

I have done it so much the more readily, that consulting the Observation of the Learned, I have found, that if some Manuscripts, according to the which the New Testament began to be printed, had πνεύμασι πλάνοις, *seducing Spirits*; several others had, πνεύμασι πλάνης, *Spirits of Error*. I will only set down here Mr. *Amelot's* Observation: "According to
 " the vulgar Greek, we should say *sedu-*
 " *cing Spirits*; but in three of *King's*
 " Manuscripts, in the best of *Stevens's*,
 " in those of Cardinal *Ximenes*, and of
 " the Marquis *de Welex*, there is, as in
 " our Interpreter, πνεύμασι πλάνης, to the
 " *Spirits of Error.*" This justifies my Translation to be the surer of the two; since it may agree with both Readings of the Original; whereas the other will agree only with the vulgar Greek, : For, keeping to the Word πλάνοις, I may translate, *To the Doctrine*, that *deceives*, or *erroneous Doctrines*; but admit the Word, πλάνης, it cannot be render'd otherwise, than by the *Doctrines of Error*. The Spi-
 rits

rits of Error are either the Teachers of erroneous Doctrines, or the Doctrines themselves; and every Body will grant, that it may more properly be said, *Giving up themselves to Error, than giving up themselves to Seducers, or Teachers of Error*; for Men do commonly give up themselves to Doctrines rather than to Doctors. Besides, there is not one Place in Scripture that I know of, where the Word *Spirit* signifies a *Teacher*. They quote none other to that Purpose than this in question, and which ought no longer to be insisted on, after what I have said.

But there are several Places where the Word *Spirit* signifies *Doctrine*; for thus Interpreters do understand, 1 Cor. 14. 32. *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets*; as indeed this Place has Respect to the 29th Verse, *Let two or three Prophets speak, and let the others judge*: The Meaning can be no other, than that the Doctrines set forth by some

132 A T R E A T I S E

Prophets that speak, must be subject to the Judgment of others. When St. *John* says, *That some Spirits are of God, and some are not,* 1 *John* 4. 1, 2. surely he would have us know, that there be some Sentiments and Doctrines whereof God is the Author, and some others that proceed not from him : *That Spirit from the Mouth of the Lord which is to destroy the Son of Perdition,* 2 *Thef.* 2. 8. seems to me to be none other, than the Doctrine of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* clearly manifested. *The three unclean Spirits coming forth out of the Mouth of the Dragon, and out of the Mouth of the false Prophet, and out of the Mouth of the Beast,* *Rev.* 16. 13, 14. are certainly three dangerous Tenets or Opinions, which are called *Spirits of Demons*, to signify, (as in the Text) the Doctrine of *Demons*, because all the three tend to cause dead Men to be religiously honoured, as is practised among the Heathen, and under the Empire of the Beast, and of the false Prophet. Several other Pla-

ces

ees may thus be clearly explain'd, which otherwise may not easily be understood.

This Word *Spirit* does sometimes express the Divine Virtue working above Nature, and the Wonders that it brings forth, as you may observe in the Places under-noted (a) a Truth which cannot be deny'd; and I wish that those who labour so much to prove, that in the Church, there is not another immediate Operation of the *Holy Ghost*, besides the working of *Miracles*, would seriously consider this, and confess, that there is not a greater Difficulty to admit this immediate working of Faith and Regeneration, than his Prophefying and speaking of Tongues; for St. Paul saying, *that there is a Diversity of Gifts, but there is one and the same Spirit*, doth ascribe Wisdom, Knowledge, and Faith to the same Spirit, as he doth to the Cure of Diseases, prophefying, discerning of Spi-

(a) Judg. 14. 16. Ch. 15. 13. Isa. 31. 3. Joel 2. 28. 29. Matt. 12. 28. 1 Cor. 12. 4, 8, 9, 10, 13. 1 Pet. 3. 8.

134 A T R E A T I S E

rits, and speaking of Languages; *and that all, both Jews and Greeks, whether bond or free, are made to drink of the same Spirit*; as in another Place, *that whosoever hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his*, Rom. 8. 9.

Some others do not approve of my Notion about the Words *justified in the Spirit*; that we should understand them of the miraculous Works of the Spirit of God, which have confirmed this Truth, *That Jesus Christ is God manifested in the Flesh*; but I see not how a better Sense can be put upon them: The different Opinions of those who have labour'd hard to find out another, have fixed mine, and with me follow others that have proved it by St. Peter's Words, *Acts 2. 22. Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God among you by mighty Works and Wonders, and Signs, which he did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know* (a). Great is the Number of

(a) Aimo, Estius. The old Notes on the Bible of Luncacy, Piscator, Toffanus, Amiraldus, Deodati, Dallæus.

those

those Commentators that have expounded them as I do, and apply'd them particularly to our Saviour's Resurrection.

They find Fault likewise with my comment upon 1 of Cor. 6. 3. *Know ye not that we shall judge the Angels.* And indeed I do not wonder at it, because most Interpreters understanding it otherwise : But the Truth is, that we are naturally Proud, and wonderful delighted with this Thought, that a Day will come, wherein we shall be appointed Judges of the Angels. But let me intreat the Reader to examine strictly the difficulties arising from the common Opinion ; as in the first Place, That Interpreters do not agree about several Heads. Some will have it *That all the Elect of God shall Judge the Angels.* Others that *the Ministers only shall have this privilege.* Some say that *the Angels to be judged, are the wicked Angels only.* Others will have the good ones to be no less Subject to this Judgment. Some do pretend to Judge even in this Life, others are

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136 A T R E A T I S E

contented to wait till the last Day. Some do believe that they shall sit with Christ upon the Bench. Others affirm, That they simply acquiesce to the Judgment given by Christ. Yea, that the Faithful shall only be brought in as Examples, which the Supreme Judge shall produce against the condemned. Besides this, There are some things which they have not minded, and which seem to me to be of no small difficulty. St. Paul's Argument is a *Majori ad minus*. If we are to Judge the Angels, how much rather things pertaining to this Life? They should explain to us, what relation there is between these two sorts of Judgment; and what consequence may follow from a Judgment that consists only in Approbation, or given Evidence, or a Judgement that pronounces Sentence, and decides Matters: such as the Apostles would have the Faithful to give about the Dispute of their Brethren Furthermore, St. Paul grounds his Discourse upon this Supposition, That what he spake was well known of all them that he spake to. *Do you not know*
faith

faith he, *that we shall judge the Angels?* Let me therefore ask these Doctors, who cannot determine what Judges shall pronounce this Judgment, or what Angels shall be judged; When, and after what manner this Judgment shall be given? and how God's Children can know that they shall be judged? But I get out of this *Lybyrinth*, by following the Sentiment of those St. *Chrysofome* speaks of upon this Place, and who believe, that the Angels meant, are the Ministers of the Church, who are to be judged by the Church it self. Those Prophets, whose Spirits or Doctrines, are to be subject to the Prophets, who judge of what is said; and consequently do judge of Things greater and of an higher Importance than the Things of this Life. Tho' some Copies do put a circumflex Accent upon the Words *κρινοῦσιν*, and *κρινοῦμεν*, to make them second Future Tenses; others do leave the Mark of the Present, and that removes all the Difficulty.

138 A T R E A T I S E

I shall mention no more Places of the holy, Scripture which are ill understood by most, to find out their Witchcraft and Apparitions; Spirits working Wonders upon Bodies, and by the Means of strange Bodies, (whereby all the silly Stories of old Women and Children are asserted and maintained :) There being an excellent book written originally in *Dutch*, and most exactly Translated into *French*, in 4 Vols. whereof the first is already made *English*, and I hope and pray that God will raise shortly some learned and zealous Christian for the Truth, that may finish that necessary Work: The Title of it is, *Le monde Enchante*, and it contains weighty and unanswerable Answers, to whatsoever hath yet been Publish'd on this Subject.

But let me answer that which some will call a very material Objection, *viz.* That the Vulgar Opinion, being the more general and also own'd not to be damnable of it self, to what Purpose

is all this Stir about it? and why are these new Notions so zealously pressed and inculcated? Yet I must say, that this Notion is neither new nor inconsiderable among Men of Learning, and aiming at Perfection. And I presume that what follows, will justify that it is not an indifferent thing, whether Christians be rightly informed in this Point or not. Observe therefore that in all things, and in the first Place he should have an Eye to the Glory of our God, which we cannot advance too much, nor remove too far, whatsoever is dishonorable to him; nor make the Way of Salvation too plain before Men. The Opinion commonly receiv'd concerning the *Devil's* Power and Dominion, of inspiring all the Evil that is done; tormenting Men and Women, yea and Children, who as yet have no Knowledge of Good and Evil, keeping in his Dependence, *Legions* of active and wicked Spirits always ready at his command, or able of themselves to vex the Living, or even to raise up or represent the Dead, for the Terror

140 A T R E A T I S E

of poor Mortals ; and they supposed to be endued with such Power to tempt Men, as to trapan them into Subscriptions to certain Covenants whereby they renounce God, and sell themselves to the *Devil*, either for a little Pelf, or a silly Pleasure, in plaguing and destroying their Fellow Creatures, not Men only, but Cattle also. This, I declare I can never agree to; and I affirm, that the Belief of it is highly dishonourable to God, and a stumbling Block in the way of Mens Salvation. This will be justified by Examples ; as,

I. What are Inchantments and conjuring Words, which such Multitudes of Men do believe to have a Vertue of working so many sorts of wonderful Effects ? Some do conceive a Vertue to be in the Words, and others in the Operation of *Satan*, upon the pronouncing of them ; for this we have the bold assertion of an eminent Author ; “ Experience teaches us, that
“ these

“ these Words, these Actions and Things
 “ have some Power. This he stoutly
 “ affirms, when upon this Principle
 “ he asketh this Question, From what
 “ Cause doth proceed this Virtue? of
 “ these Means, if not always, yet some-
 “ times? Hear his Answer, That pro-
 “ ceeds from the *Devil's* Will and Plea-
 “ sure, and not from any constant and
 “ natural Disposition of these Means(a).”

Too many more will say the same; so that it is the Vulgar Notion, *That this Virtue is in the Means.* How abominable and criminal is this Opinion? The *Centurion* said to our Saviour, *Speak the Word, and thy Servant shall be healed* *Matt. 8. 9.* Surely this *Centurion* thought not that the Power of Healing was in the Word, but in the Power and Will of *Jesus Christ.* The *Leprous* ascribeth it to *Christ's* Will; *Lord, if thou wilt*

(a) Voetius, Disput. III. pag. 578. Verba, Actiones & res illas aliquid posse docet experientia: procedit hoc ex orbis Diaboli, non ex constanti aliqua mediorum aptitudine.

thou canst make me clean. The same is confirmed by *Christ* himself, *who stretch'd forth his hand and said, I will, Be thou clean:* And are not Men ashamed to say the same of *Satan* as of *Christ*; And yet this they do; and are not ashamed, far from it, they study Arguments and stand to them, as if they were unanswerable Proofs of their foolish Notions; the *Devil* can do it, and more, if God permit him. A subtil Way of Reasoning indeed! which supposes that God may permit the *Devil* to be God, for he must be no less, and Almighty Creator likewise, if he doth all those Things that he is said to do. And who can imagine that *Satan* being a vile and wicked Creature, fallen from God, and his greatest Enemy, should be permitted to do more and greater Things than ever he suffer'd to be done by his best Servants? But this stands for nothing, they will go on and dispute still: For they say, That God permits the *Devil* to work Miracles, tho' it be to conform a false Doctrine and seduce Men. For

now they stick not to own that God can, and doth actually permit *Satan* to deceive Men, by working such Things, as is not possible for a Creature to do. Which Notion must necessarily ascribe a Divinity to the *Devil*, or make God the Author of Sin. If either *Satan* doth them of himself, or God doth work the same by him: To this End they would have us to understand literally that Place, *Rev. 13. 11, 13. That the second Beast spake like the Dragon, and worketh great Signs and Wonders, even to make Fire to come down from Heaven, in the sight of Men, Deut. 13. Moses* supposes that a Sign or a Wonder may happen, which is design'd only to tare away Men from the Worship of the true God. But in all this, no mention is made of the *Devil*; and surely the Wickedness of Man is sufficient to make him fall into Idolatry, yea and to draw others after him and seduce them by pretended Signs and Miracles. Every one is willing to make Profelytes, and zealous to bring over others to their Opinion.

pinion. *Idolatrous Popery* did constantly produce such Miracles to the same purpose: The Prophets spoken of by *Moses* were false Prophets, and Dreamers of Dreams, pretended to have seen and heard, and their Miracles were the same, pretended, and false Miracles; and if any thing was done, yet nothing above Nature, tho' the Beholders comprehend it not.

2. I reckon this among inexcusable Absurdities, that Conjurers, Witches, or the Devil himself can do all that God permits them to do. Can Men in their Senses conclude, that a mere Permission can enable for Action? Christ permitted *St. Peter* to walk upon the Sea, but enabled him not to do it; as he did to heal the impotent Man at the beautiful Gate of the Temple. I ask therefore, whether it was simple Permission that made *Balaam's* Ass to speak, and the Iron to swim? Permission alone will never produce Things above Nature, nor work Miracles. And if *Satan* and his Imps do
what

what is beyond their Nature, they must have the Power and Strength given them to do it, and that from God ; and so God is the Doer of what is done : That if the Devil doth of himself what Men say he doth above his Nature, he must be own'd to do greater Things than God ever did : Yet, oh Horror ! there is nothing more common than Christians yea Protestants, to impute to *Satan* the working the same Things or more : As for Example ; was God the Ruler and Commander of the Air, when he caused Thunder, Fire and Hail in the Land of *Egypt* ? The Devil is thought to have had the same Power, when the Houses of *Job's* Children were overthrown ; and now, that he hath whole Nations of *Laplanners* and *Finlanders*, who are able to raise, turn, and sell the Wind, and, by untying a Knot made in the Corner of a Handkerchief, raise a Storm, and lay it again. And is it not now a common Saying, when considerable Mischiefs are done by a Storm, that some Body is conjuring. One of our Saviour's

146 A T R E A T I S E

greatest and most admirable Work, is restoring the Dead to Life again, *John* 5. 20. by it he prov'd his Divinity and Almighty Power. *As the Father raises up the Dead and quickeneth them, so the Son quickeneth whom he will.* But it is pretended that *Satan* goes farther, for *Christ* raised up the Dead, by reuniting the Soul with the same Body; but according to the vulgar Opinion, the *Devil* can make Bodies for Spirits, which never had any Relation to a Body, and he can animate that which never had a Soul, yea transform Men into Beasts, and bring them to themselves again: He changes them and himself into Cats and Goats, and that not in Appearance only, but in Reality, for if the Cat be beaten, the Witch will have a Bruise; if the Hare be bitten by a Dog, and escapes, the Witch will go lame the next Day. The Prophet, by the Power of God, caused the Iron to come up from the bottom to the top of the Water, *2 Kings* 6. 6. But *Satan* makes a Multitude of Witches to swim, where
 other

others would sink immediately. These are but few of innumerable Instances that may be produc'd, to prove that Men do allow the *Devil* a Power and Operations above Nature; and if that is true, then he is a God. Every Creature is confined by God himself to the Properties of its own Nature, and so are the Actions proceeding from these Properties: So that we must say that when a Creature acts contrary to, or above its Nature, it is God's own Act, either by his own immediate Operation, as when *St. Peter* cured the impotent Man with one Word speaking, as he said to the People, *why do you look on us, as if by our own Power we had made this Man to walk?* or by giving extraordinary Abilities to the Means, beyond their Nature, as after the troubling of the Water of *Bethesda*; and to the Waters of *Jordan*, to cure the *Leprosy*. As for my part, I will never enquire what the *Devil* can do, when I see any thing done, that is above Nature; for then I am sure he cannot be the Doer of it: yet

148 A T R E A T I S E

not only old Women and Idiots among the Vulgar, but even learned and eminent Men will affirm the same, and a great deal more inconsistent, not only with the Principles of Christian Religion, but also contradictory to the Truth of the Creation, which hath set such Bounds to all Creatures which they cannot pass; not only without God's Permission, but also without his giving them Power and Strength, beyond what he first imprinted in their Nature; and therefore what is said of Spirits acting corporally upon Bodies, or of Bodies acting as Spirits, must either be false, or the Work of him, who is the Author of Nature, and is able to alter it when, and as he pleaseth: So the Opinion of any Creature having a Power of working Things above its Nature, cannot be maintained to the Glory of God.

3. I say again, that the commonly receiv'd Opinion is a great stumbling
Block

Block unto Man, even in the Way of his Salvation : For, first of all, it furnishes the Atheist with an unanswerable Argument against the Truth of our Holy Religion ; for we pretend this to be undeniably establish'd by it, that the Writers of the *Bible* did those Things, which were impossible to be done without the Finger of God : This was the Case of the Law, *Deut. 4. 42. God hath taken to himself a People, out of another People, by Temptations, by Wonders, by a strong Hand, and by an out-stretched Arm, and by great Terrors.* It is the Case of the Gospel, *Heb. 2. 4. God witnessing together with them by Signs, and Wonders, and mighty Works.* But if what is conceived of the *Devil* takes Place, Conjurers and Witches go beyond *Moses* and the Prophets, and *Christ* himself ; for the *Devil* daily sets forth Prophecies, and doth Wonders beyond *Urim* and *Thummim*. If God created and governs the World, and all Things subsist by his Will, in the same Order that he set them, *Revel. 4. 11.* it is said also that the *Devil* can do all
this :

150 A TREATISE

this; but what saith the *Spirit of Truth*, *Isa. 41. 23. Make us to understand Things to come, and ye are Gods*: But hidden Things, and Things to come, are discover'd by the Devil's Revelation: If he is the God of this World, if he knows the Hearts, and can work upon them, and understand the Mysteries of Salvation, he hath divine Attributes, and he can do all Things; inspire *David* to go and number the People, and take from *Job* all his Goods, and the Health of his Body: But you will say, that the *Devil* can do nothing but what God permits him to do. Have Care, I pray: Our Saviour said that of himself, *John 5. 19. I can do nothing of myself*. Beware making Comparisons, which this new receiv'd Opinion is but too apt to do, to the great Scandal and Prejudice of the Christian Religion, and hinders Men from knowing and serving God as they ought to do. *St. James* tells us, *That if any lacketh Wisdom, he must beg it of God, who alone is able to give it*. But this Opinion tells us, that *Satan*, out of his
great

great Capacity, and long Experience, can reveal all Things to Men. The Prophet *Amos* puts this Question, *Is there any Evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* But what answers this Conceit, All Evil is from the Devil. If we be assaulted with any sad or troublesome Thoughts, or feel in our Consciences some Checks or Disturbances for the Evil that we have done, we complain that we are pursued by an evil Spirit. And do we discourse of another World, we hear of nothing oftner than the Devil's dragging and hauling Souls into *Hell*: So that however we are taught to honour and love God, we are also instructed to fear the Devil, contrary to the Scripture, which informs us, *that God, and he alone, is to be fear'd*; and that it is a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the *Living God*; not of a *Devil in Chains*.

And will not our pure and Holy Religion suffer much, by thus making God the Author of these Errors and Cheats,

152 A TREATISE

Cheats, which are set on work to seduce Men; for the Devil hath no Share in Omnipotence, and God must be the Doer of all those Things that exceed Nature, and yet are made Use of to turn away Men from God, to look upon *Satan* as the Engineer of these surprizing Things. Let our Hearts abhor such Conceits, for they will keep us from the right Sentiments we should have of the Divinity, and, by Consequence, make us incapable of rendering to our God that Honour, Reverence, and Service, which are due to him. As many as fancy that God either permits or gives the Devil a Power to do such Things, do ascribe to *Satan* a Power and Kingdom antecedent to, and as lasting as that of God's only Son; having under his Command and Direction Multitudes of Spirits, Men and Witches, who having contracted a strict Alliance with him, do assert his Dominion in all Parts of the World, to the great Grievance of innumerable Creatures, and the eternal Damnation of poor deluded Souls.

But

But to conclude, the Notions are inconsistent with the *Practice of Piety*, according as *St. Paul* marks their Opposition, *1 Tim. 4. 7. But reject ungodly and old Wives Fables, and exercise thy self unto Godliness*: Here is a casting out of the one, and admitting the other; not only preferring *Piety* before these *Fables*, but be sure to have nothing to do with these, and give thy self wholly to the other; whereby it is sufficiently manifest, that such *Fables* can never agree with *Piety*. This is what *St. Peter* would have us to understand, when he saith, *2 Pet. 1. 16. We follow not after cunningly devised Fables, but we have made known unto you the Power and Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ among the Heathen*; as now in *Popery* Religion was grounded upon *Fables*; all their *Divinations, Magick, and Conjurations* were built upon that Foundation. And it was thus at *Ephesus*, when *St. Paul* writ this *Epistle*; that *City* being the *Metropolis* of

154 A T R E A T I S E

all the Heathenish Religions, by Reason of the Magnificence of *Diana's* Temple, and other Images supposed to come down from Heaven, all which was a mere Fable; the Priests of those false Divinities being accustomed to wrap up the Worship of their Gods and Dæmons with contriv'd Stories of their Extraction, Education, and Actions, and their Laws requir'd of Men their Worshippers, reserving always to themselves the Explication of these; and to confirm the People in the blind Service of these Gods, they pretended Apparitions, Revelations, and Miracles: The *Jewish Talmud*, the *Turkish Alcoran*, the *Roman Legends*, the Writings of our new *Antitrinitarians*, *Socinians*, and *Antiscripturists*, are to be avoided, with all Worshippers of Tradition; for that is a new Heresy started up of late among *Protestants*. These are Things that are made use of to seduce People, and make Gain of their Money, by feeding their Minds by such craftily invented Stories; such
as

as the Apostle hath given a very proper Name to, *σποφισμίνης μυθός*, *maliciously forged Fables*: Of this Nature is all this *Demonology*, or *Doctrin*e of *Demons*, so much reverenc'd by the Heathen, profane and ridiculous Inventions entertain'd, and daily rehears'd among Children by old Women, whose weak Brains being filled with them, will not cease relating them to the younger Sort of People, as if they were undoubted Truths, establish'd by the most certain Experience: But the worst of all is, that for such Things old Women and others are often cast into Pisons, tormented, and doomed to the Flames, as convicted of Diabolical Magick. These are but few of those many Arguments that occur to justify that these vulgar Notions are inconsistent with the Practice of Piety, since they fill up Mens Thoughts with Vanities, and make all their Devotion to be nothing but Superstition and Idolatry.

The first of these is the fact that the
 population of the country has increased
 rapidly since the year 1850. This is
 due to a number of causes, the most
 important of which are the following:
 1. The discovery of gold in California
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 2. The discovery of gold in Colorado
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 3. The discovery of gold in Nevada
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 4. The discovery of gold in Idaho
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 5. The discovery of gold in Montana
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 6. The discovery of gold in Wyoming
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 7. The discovery of gold in Utah
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 8. The discovery of gold in Arizona
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 9. The discovery of gold in New Mexico
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 10. The discovery of gold in Texas
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 11. The discovery of gold in Louisiana
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 12. The discovery of gold in Mississippi
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 13. The discovery of gold in Alabama
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 14. The discovery of gold in Georgia
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 15. The discovery of gold in Florida
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 16. The discovery of gold in South Carolina
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 17. The discovery of gold in North Carolina
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 18. The discovery of gold in Virginia
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 19. The discovery of gold in West Virginia
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 20. The discovery of gold in Maryland
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 21. The discovery of gold in Delaware
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 22. The discovery of gold in Pennsylvania
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 23. The discovery of gold in New Jersey
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 24. The discovery of gold in New York
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 25. The discovery of gold in Connecticut
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 26. The discovery of gold in Rhode Island
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 27. The discovery of gold in Massachusetts
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 28. The discovery of gold in Vermont
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 29. The discovery of gold in New Hampshire
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 30. The discovery of gold in Maine
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 31. The discovery of gold in New Brunswick
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 32. The discovery of gold in Nova Scotia
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 33. The discovery of gold in Prince Edward Island
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 34. The discovery of gold in Quebec
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 35. The discovery of gold in Ontario
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 36. The discovery of gold in New South Wales
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 37. The discovery of gold in Victoria
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 38. The discovery of gold in South Australia
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 39. The discovery of gold in Western Australia
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 40. The discovery of gold in Tasmania
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 41. The discovery of gold in New Zealand
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 42. The discovery of gold in Fiji
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 43. The discovery of gold in Samoa
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 44. The discovery of gold in Tonga
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 45. The discovery of gold in the Sandwich Islands
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 46. The discovery of gold in the Phoenix Islands
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 47. The discovery of gold in the Tokelau Islands
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 48. The discovery of gold in the Cook Islands
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 49. The discovery of gold in the Niue Islands
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.
 50. The discovery of gold in the Tokelau Islands
 and the consequent immigration of
 thousands of people to that State.



A N

APPENDIX

TO THE

Treatise of SPIRITS.



FINDING the learned
 Part of the World
 grown more curi-
 ous to know the
 Truth about Spirits,
 and that the Dis-
 pute concerning Witches and Ap-
 paritions seems not to be at an End;
 but particularly because I have met
 a late

158 APPENDIX.

a late Pamphlet, which pretends strongly to prove his Point; but so weak are his Arguments, that he will find himself disappointed, if he expects an Answer. I shall only transcribe his Title Page, and I take that to be Answer enough. For these Reasons I have added this Appendix.

The Possibility and Reality of Magick, Socery and Witchcraft demonstrated: Or, A Vindication of a Compleat History of Magick, Socery and Witchcraft. In Answer to Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay. By Richard Boulton, some time of Brazen-Nose College.

The mighty Stumbling Block of learned Men, labouring under an habitual Prevention in the Case now

in

in Hand, are above the rest, two short Histories, one in the Old Testament, the other in the New Testament, *viz.* The WITCH, or No WITCH of ENDOR, for the Scripture doth not call her so; and the supposed Transmigration of the Dæmons into the Herd of Swine; both these are, (as I suppose) very well explained in the Treatise. But because the Men with whom I have to do, back'd by the Multitude, will multiply his Words, against Arguments both of holy Scripture and natural Evidence; I have thought fit to make an Addition of this short Appendix; being perswaded, that a short Paraphrase on these two Places, will clear the Point, and put an End to the Dispute.

As to the first, the Scripture tells us, *That there was a Time when the Spirit*

160 APPENDIX.

Spirit of God was upon Saul, and a Time when he was departed from him.

At this Time of Diltraction doubtless it was that *Saul* undertook to go to *Endor*; and it must be so, for he went for Information to one of those, whom himself had banished out of the Land; yea, whom he knew God had forbidden should be suffered to live. He was mad indeed to think that he could be disguised from a Cunning Woman, who could not be ignorant of what every Body knew, that *Saul was higher by the Head and Shoulders than any of the People*. Distracted indeed he was! to imagine to get true Information, when God refused to answer him; but a Spirit from the Lord tormented him; yet our Interpreters never thought to reckon him among the Possessed; because I suppose, it is said that it was a Spirit from the Lord, not from Satan,

tan, or the Devil. However, *Saul* was in a distracted Condition, for he was afraid at the Sight of the *Philistine* Army ; and so in a proper Case to be put upon by such Pretenders to Devination, being throughly perswaded of her great Skill in the Art of Magick. And accordingly, take Notice how the Woman acts her Part : He came to her in the Night, the proper Time for Deeds of Darknes, and none more dark than applying to the Dead for Relief ; such was his Errand, *I pray thee divine unto me by the Familiar Spirit, and bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee ;* like that of *Dives* to *Lazarus*, *Send one from the Dead to my Brethren, to testify unto them ;* and yet this is a Thing much to be taken Notice of, That of all those that were rais'd from the Dead, none is said to

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have

have continued upon Earth, or to have done any thing, or to have given any Information. So that *Saul's* Request was both impertinent and impossible, that *Samuel*, an holy Man, and now at rest from his Labours, should be disquieted to please the Curiosity of a mad, rebellious Prince, and the Covetousness of a wicked and presumptuous Woman; therefore the Woman said unto him, and very prudently, to avoid the Penalty of the Law, *Thou knowest what Saul hath done.* He, to be sure of her, gives her the greatest Security that she could have, a solemn Oath of him to whom belongs the Execution of the Law; *And Saul sware to her by the Lord, saying, As the Lord liveth, there shall no Punishment happen unto thee for this Thing.* Upon this Assurance, she is encouraged, and
 begins

begins her Work, and saith, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.* Foolishly thinking doubtless, as the vulgar Error prevail'd, that she could by her Art bring *Samuel* to talk with him about Business, as he us'd to do when he was alive: But, alas! *tempore mutantur*, the Apparition must be to her, not to him, as will be manifest presently; how cometh this sudden Transition, without more Words, from his Request to the Apparition to her, *Ver. 12.* *And when the Woman saw Samuel, she cry'd with a loud Voice; but only because Saul, very Intent upon the Business, must be supposed to be in haste, and the Woman immediately steps into her Cell, or Closet, where stood the Ob, or Death's Head, here called the Familiar Spirit, which our Conjurors or For-*

tune-Tellers have thought fit to change into the *casting of a Figure upon Paper*, which no Body understands but themselves, and the Conjuror alone must give the Signification thereof. *When the Woman saw Samuel*, for hitherto he saw nothing; and why not *then*, if he was to see at all; no, there must be further juggling in the Case; the Woman was to *see*, and he to *hear* only; therefore she goes to the proper Place appointed for Visions and Apparitions, into which Place the Client is not permitted to enter, out of which she starts, with wonted Amazement, for *she cry'd with a loud Voice, and spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceiv'd me? For thou art Saul.* Now the King is fully perswaded that the Woman had had the Vision, and that by it she had discovered who he was, for

he

he answered her, *Be not afraid, for what sawest thou?* The Vision is over, and yet he saw nothing, and we will have him be very clear-sighted, when he was stark Blind; which he confesses by saying to her, *What sawest thou? And what Apparition was this? I saw (not thou) Gods ascending out of the Earth.* A Vision indeed, of Plurality of Gods in a People which believed but one, and they ascending out of the Earth! a Place where the very Gods of the Heathen were never said to dwell. I would therefore entreat my Antagonists to give me the Meaning of those Words, which, I must confess I understand not: But as the dark Answers of our Astrologers, and of the ancient Oracles, which were never delivered but in Enigmatical Terms; but of these the poor Prince had no sight; for he said to her,

her, *What Form is he of?* Surely he saw nothing yet, for she said, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle.* Then *Saul perceived*, he did not see that it was *Samuel*, but he *perceived*, he *conjectured* and *concluded* it from the Words of the Woman; as all those that will have their Fortune told them, must be satisfied with what the Teller will reveal in the Matter; but he bow'd and knealt, either with Thanks to the Woman, or in Reverence to the Memory of *Samuel*, who vouchsaf'd to appear in his Behalf, and (by her) so graciously to answer his Request; for why so many Words in framing this Apparition to the Woman, so many Words, affirming that *Saul* saw nothing, and yet not the least Item of his appearing to *Saul* himself; but the Dialogue continuing
still

still betwixt *Saul* and the Woman, she personates *Samuel* none otherwise than the Advocate personates his Client when he pleads for him, *Then said Samuel to Saul*, (tho' *Saul* sought the Mediation of the Woman, it was not from her that he expected his Instruction, but from the Apparition of *Samuel*; neither did the Woman pretend to inform him of herself, before *Samuel* appeared; and then the things to be spoken of, relating particularly to *Saul* and *Samuel*, more than to the Woman, who was but a Mediatix, it was proper for her then to personate *Samuel*, whom *Saul* could not see, and to name Things that pertained to them, and not at all to herself, as the following Words do shew; *Why hast thou disquieted me?* *Samuel*, if any; not the Woman, was disquieted. And there-

therefore as the Lawyer takes up on him to personate his Client, because he is the Party concerned ; so this Woman doth the same here, to utter the Words which were proper for *Samuel* to have uttered, if he had really appeared ; and they are true Words in themselves, for it must have been a great Disturbance to holy *Samuel*, to be fetch'd from Heaven, or from the Grave, to pleasure a wicked King and a cursed Woman. But the Words must be false, if the Apparition was true, for *Samuel* could not be disquieted in going upon God's Errand, as this must be ; for God's Permission, so often alledg'd in this Case, is not sufficient ; it cannot make the Devil a God, to create, to raise up the Dead, to Inspire, to Transform, to make a Woman a Hare, and an Elephant of a Bee's Knee.

Knee. Have a care, Mortal Men, of such surprizing Incongruities, yea Impossibilities to Nature, and blasphemously put upon God himself, making him the Author of what he utterly abhorrs and absolutely forbids. Observe what *Saul* answers to this Reproof (pray excuse me, I could not help it,) *I am sore distressed, the Philistines make War against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more; God himself must be taxed, and made the Cause of our Extravagancies. As we run to Churches to thank him for the Success of the enormous Crimes that we commit, so pray hear this Lesson, ye careless Men; Then said Samuel, wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine Enemy? Ye that are but fallible Men, have a care of*

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find.

170 APPENDIX.

finding Fault with God; if God will not, the whole Creation cannot relieve you; you particularly, that are so much for Witches and Apparitions, see the Impossibility of them, for God is not there; *If ye do Evil*, i. e. if you go about an unlawful thing, God leaves you, and no Good will come of it; and if any Success appears, it is the worse for you, as it was for *Saul*, *Confusion and utter Destruction*: After the Declaration of which, in the 17th, 18th and 19th Verses, the Effect follows, Ver. 20. *Then Saul fell straitway all along upon the Earth, and was sore afraid, because of the Words of Samuel; and there was no Strength in him, because he had eaten no Bread all the Day, nor all the Night; so great was his Distraction, that he minded nothing but his wicked Design. The Conclusion*

clusion of all this is in the 19th Verse ; *Moreover the Lord will also deliver Israel with thee, into the hands of the Philistines ; and to Morrow shalt thou and thy Sons be with me : and the Lord also shall deliver the Host of Israel into the Hands of the Philistines :* which shews how much God is provoked, when he permits a wicked King to rule over a People, the whole Nation suffers by it. The End is, the *Saul* is left to the Woman's Care to Succour him ; but the last Words are not easily understood, *To Morrow thou shalt be with me ;* that they were meant of his Death, all do own ; but the Words *to Morrow,* and *with me,* seems to have something of the former juggling, *the Gods ascending out of the Earth ;* for we have noted, that *Saul* did not die the next Day after his being at *Endor ;* and the

History of *Saul's* Life will hardly permit us to understand Heaven, where we faithully believe that *Samuel* was, nor yet *Ramath*, where he was buried, and from whence we hold it impossible for all Witches, and even the Devil himself to remove any Body ; and God himself never did, but by a great Miracle, and for the Confirmation of that Christian Article of Faith, the Resurrection of the Dead, and particularly to bear Testimony of our blessed Saviour's Resurrection.

As to the great Miracle which our Saviour wrought upon the *Two*, *St. Mark* saith *One* Demonaick, because perhaps one appear'd to Christ before the other, or because there was something more remarkable in the Madness of the one than that of the other ; as is constantly
ob-

observed, that among a Multitude afflicted with the same Disease, every one hath some Symptom distinct from the others, and in no Distemper so much to be taken Notice of, as in the *Epilepsy* and *Lunacy*, which the Heathen never fail'd to ascribe to the working of some Dæmon or other; as the Roman Catholicks do to their Saints, whom they have translated into Dæmons by their Canonization, and to whom they presently apply for cure; as for Example, (and to name no more) to the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, in Case of Child-birth, for they have made her an universal Midwife. But to return to the History; I declare my Sentiment, that all the Errors in this Case might have been prevented, if Translators had been careful at the first not to confound the Word *Dæmon* and that of *Devil*

Devil together, and had well informed Christians of their Difference. Did Men know and believe these Things, (which nothing but strong Prevention and Negligence keeps them from knowing) 1. That *Demon* is a good Word, where-ever it is used for a *God*, rather than a *Devil*. 2. That *Demons* were imagined by the Heathen to be dead Men, who having deserved well, were arriv'd to another State of Glory and Honour, and to a Capacity of working extraordinary Things; that therefore some Reverence and Worship is due to them from Mortals. This the holy Scripture declares, and all Christians ought to believe to be nothing at all but Delusion, readily receiv'd and cunningly made use of by vile and ungodly Men, for fecular Ends. 3. That the Heathen and Roman

Roman Catholicks did, and do to this Day, ascribe to their supposed deified Men, the Miracles, and all extraordinary Events, which indeed are, or seem to be, above Nature ; and thence arises the Superstition and idolatrous Worship that is render'd to Creatures. 4. Did Christians believe and profess that which they cannot but know, that we know nothing of the *Devil*, but what the Book of God tells us ; that the Old Testament saith nothing of him, but under the Names of the *Serpent* and of *Satan* ; that the New Testament never speaks of him, but in the singular Number, that therefore we are to believe that there is but *One Serpent*, *One Satan*, *One Devil* ; that whatsoever this *Devil* is, whatsoever Wit or Power he may have, or have had, the Seed of the Woman, which

is

is *Christ*, hath broken his Head;
That the Devil is in Chains, and
so is a very insignificant Fellow,
far from that universal Monarchy
of this World, having at his Com-
mand Legions of what, I know
not how to call them, that he
sends up and down to tempt, tire
and torment Men upon the whole
Earth: Whereas, as to Temptation,
St. James tells us, *Chap. 1. Ver. 14.*
That every Man is tempted when he
is drawn away of his own Lust, and
enticed: Let the Courts of Judica-
ture put out of their Indictments,
that the Malefactor did kill or rob a
Man by the Instigation of the Devil;
for the Devil was not there, nor
knew nothing of the Matter.
Therefore, O Christians, look to
your selves, and make your Peace
with God, for He alone is to be
fear'd! He sees and knows, and
He

he alone will judge and punish! If HE be for you, it matters not who is against you! As to all the Changes and Chances of this World, St. John instructs us very well, to all Intentions and Purposes, 1 John 2. 16. he tells us of the Things that can bring any Mischief on us, and all the Enemies we are to beware of, and fight with, viz. *The Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life.* These are all the Devils we are to encounter withal, and which if we conquer and defeat, we are safe. *Lastly, If Men did believe, profess and practice this, That to fear God and keep his Commandments is the Whole Duty of Man,* that in the Discharge of this Duty, we shall meet with all the Instruction we have need of, and all the Blessings that will make us happy, both here and hereafter; then we

178 APPENDIX.

shall fear no *Devils* to disturb, seek to no *Witches* or Apparations of dead Men or Angels to inform us ; for our good God hath last of all spoken to us by his Son. One thing therefore I add, and with it conclude this short APPENDIX, and earnestly pray to our merciful God, that he would be pleased to move powerfully the Heart of his his Servants, and particularly all Clergymen, to read over and over again, and reflect seriously upon what *St. Luke* saith, *Chap. 7. 21, 22.* *And in that same Hour he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues, and of Evil Spirits ; and unto many that were Blind, he gave Sight. Then Jesus answering, said unto them, Go your Way, and tell John what Things ye have seen and heard ; how that the Blind see, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleansed, the Deaf hear,*

hear, the Dead are raised; to the Poor the Gospel is preached. Here is diligently to be noted, that St. *John's* Disciples saw Jesus casting out Evil Spirits, and that they were to tell *John* all the Things they had seen and heard, and that is all that was to be told; for hear a notable Exception, both in St. *Matthew* and in St. *Luke*, they were not to speak of the casting out of Dæmons, for doubtless our Saviour's Omission in the Charge that he gave them, was a Prohibition: And why was not the casting out of Dæmons a Miracle, for it is named among them; or is it a lesser Miracle than making the Lame to walk, or the Deaf to hear? Nothing of this, but there is a Reason for it that few Men give Attention unto. The Question was, how to make it plain to *John* and

the whole World, and first to the *Jews*, that *Jesus was the Christ, the Messiah promised unto Israel*; to do this, one thing was necessary and sufficient, *viz.* to prove that Jesus was he that was promised of God by the Covenant of Grace, described by the Prophets, and the Works that he should do so plainly marked, that they being well considered, it was impossible not to know him; therefore our Saviour tells them very often to be mindful of his Works, which testified of him; and of his doing the Works which his Father sent him to do, and which the Prophet had said he should do. So that the Prophets having said nothing, and our Saviour himself saying nothing of casting out Demons in this Place, where it should have been said, had it been one of the Works neces-

necessary to prove him to be the
 Messiah; but it is necessary that
 he should to that purpose cure all
 manner of Diseases among Men,
 both great and small, both ordina-
 ry and extraordinary Fevers and
 Agues, Lunacy and Madnes: For,
 if Christians would but consider
 well, an Ague hath as many trou-
 sifing Things and Difficulties, as the
 possessing Spirits ever had, and those
 that made the *Fever* a *Divinity*,
 were as much in the right, as
 they who maintain that the *De-*
monaicks which our Saviour cured
 were acted by foreign Spirits that
 had entered into them. And if the
 Difficulty of their passing into the
 Herd of Swine cannot be answer'd
 by comparing it with *Naaman's* Le-
 profy passing into *Gebazi's* Family, I
 must stay where I am till they bring
 me Word what became of the De-
 vile

vils after the Hogs were drown'd,
and how they do now.

Forasmuch as the main Argument which they have to prove their Witches and Apparitions, are the Stories they tell of them, whereof the greatest part are sufficiently refuted by the Relation: If God were pleased to give me Time and Health, I would endeavour to pay them in their own Coin, and prove by Stories within mine own Reach, how much the cunning and wicked Part of the World imposes upon the credulous and ignorant.

F I N I S.



Ms. G. 86.

